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STUDIES IN TRADE UNIONISM
IN THE
CUSTOM TAILORING TRADE

CHARLES JACOB STOWELL



STUDIES IN TRADE UNIONISM IN THE CUSTOM TAILORING TRADE

BY

CHARLES JACOB STOWELL
B. S. Illinois Wesleyan University, 1911

THESIS

**Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of**

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IN ECONOMICS

IN

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OF THE

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TO THE
ADMINISTRATIVE

PREFACE.

The paper here submitted is intended to form the basis for a more extended study of trade unionism in the custom tailoring trade. The attempt has been made, however, to give the present chapters some value apart from the more thorough investigation which has been planned for the future. The writer was employed in the general office of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America from 1902 to 1911 and has had opportunity to study the organization and policies of the union; it was primarily for this reason that the present subject was chosen for a thesis.

The officers and members of the Tailors' Union have been of great assistance in the preparation of this study, special thanks being due to Mr. E. J. Brais, secretary of the union, and to Mr. John B. Lennon, former secretary. The writer also wishes to express his appreciation of criticism and advice given by members of the Economics Seminary, University of Illinois.

CHARLES JACOB STOWELL.

University of Illinois,
June 1, 1912.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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Note. In the footnotes to the following pages, "Doc. Hist." stands for Commons and Andrews' "Documentary History of American Industrial Society"; and "Sen. Doc." for "Senate Document."

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE TAILORING TRADE.

1. *Ancient and Mediaeval Times. Rise of the Trade in England.*

It has often been said in jest, that tailoring is the oldest of the mechanical occupations, inasmuch as

“Adam himself ’twas he begun the trade,
And for himself and Eve both aprons made.”¹

However this may be, it is certain that the trade is an ancient one. It is especially true of this industry, that in the olden times it was confined to the household. During the period covered by ancient history, it is probable that there were few persons especially trained in the making of garments for others, except the women and slaves of private households, or those attached to official or royal establishments. The rise of tailoring as a handicraft belongs distinctively to the Middle Ages, but, since we are concerned mainly with its modern forms, it will be sufficient to start our investigation with the rise of a strictly journeymen class of tailors in England.

There is some evidence to show that the rise of such a class occurred about the middle of the 17th Century.² Pre-

¹“A new poem on the Ancient and loyal Society of Journeymen Tailors, etc.” 1725. By Henry Nelson, Bricklayer, one of the Brethren. Galton, *The Tailoring Trade*, p. 27.

²By this it is not meant that there were not wage-working tailors earlier than this, for there were, both in the gilds and outside of them, and some of these workers were called, “journeymen.” They did not, however, form a permanent class, inasmuch as in most cases they had an opportunity to rise to the standing of a master; moreover, the method of production was not capitalistic.

viously, it seems that wealthy customers bought their cloth direct from wholesale clothiers, and then either took it to a master working-tailor³ to be made up, or had it made up by a tailor in their own household. The poor made their own garments or bought second-hand ones. In the first half of the 17th Century, however, there arose in London, and probably in other large towns, a class of shop-keeping master tailors, who were "capitalists" in a genuine sense.⁴ Formerly, all persons recognized by law as being entitled to engage in the selling of garments, or making them up to order, were in a chartered Company. In London, for example, this Company was called "The Company of Merchant-Tailors of the City of London, and the Master Working Tailors, Freemen of this City, and members also of the said Company."⁵ As implied by the title, this Company included both "Master-Tailors" and "Merchant-Tailors." As nearly as we can interpret the language of the period, the "Master-Tailors" were recruited from the comparatively small number of journeymen who acquired the specially skilled part of the business, namely, the cutting-out⁶; whereas, the "Merchant-

³By "master working-tailor" is meant the head of a household establishment, in which master and apprentices were associated upon equal social terms.

⁴Galton, p. xvi.

⁵Galton, p. xviii, Footnote 1. The London Companies were the successors of the Craft Gilds. The latter had included the master-workmen of their respective trades. By a process of union, selling merchants came to be included in the Companies. Both merchants and master-workmen were interested in maintaining the old system of monopoly charters and apprenticeship. Opposed to the members of the Companies were merchants who did not wish to be bound by the charter, and journeymen who desired to work without a legal apprenticeship. (See Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 13, and note.) The Tailors' Companies seem to have retained their connection with the trade longer than usual. Thus Webb states, "By the 18th century the London Journeymen had lost whatever participation they may possibly once have possessed in the Companies, which had for the most part already ceased to have any connection with the trades of which they bore the names." *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 13.

⁶Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 25.

Tailors" added to this accomplishment the business of buying the cloth needed for garments. We may therefore distinguish the cloth merchant, who made no work, but simply sold goods; the merchant-tailor, who both sold goods and made work; and the master-tailor, who sold no goods, but made up work from goods furnished by the customer. All these classes, but especially the merchant and master tailors, regarded with indignation the rise of the new shop-keeping class. The master-tailors of the Company kept only one or two journeymen, who lived on the master's premises. The shop-keepers, on the other hand, frequently rented a shop in a fashionable neighborhood, giving long credit to their wealthy clients, and employing in their own workshops numbers of journeymen during the busy season.⁷ These journeymen are described by Campbell in the *London Tradesman* (London, 1747), as follows:⁸

"The next class (to the foreman) is the mere working tailor; not one in ten of them knows how to cut out a pair of breeches; they are employed only to sew the seams, to cast the buttonholes, and prepare the work for the finisher. Their wages, by Act of Parliament, is 20 pence in one season of the year, and half-a-crown the other; however a good hand has half-a-crown or three shillings. They are as numerous as locusts, are out of business about three or four months in the year, and are generally as poor as rats. The house of call is an ale-house, where they generally use, the landlord knows where to find them, and masters go there to enquire when they want hands. Custom has established it into a kind of law, that the house of call gives them credit for victuals and drink, while they are unemployed; this obliges the journeymen, on the other hand, to spend all the money they earn at this house alone. The landlord, when once he has got

⁷Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 26.

⁸Quoted by Galton, p. 3, footnote.

them in his debt, is sure to keep them so, and by that means binds the poor wretch to his house, who slaves only to enrich the publican."

As indicated by the above extract, wages were fixed by law and paid by the day. Hours were also fixed by law, and in 1721 the legal working day was from six in the morning until nine at night, allowing half-an-hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner.⁹

To tell in detail the history of trade conditions in England after the rise of the journeymen class would take us too far afield. We must, however, note one matter of importance; namely, the early existence of piece rates, and the opposition of the workers to this method of payment. As shown above, the early journeymen received a flat time-rate, fixed by law, the law, however, taking some account of the difference of seasons. The first mention of piece-work to be found in our references is made in connection with a strike in Birmingham, in 1777.¹⁰ At this time the merchants advertised for one hundred journeymen tailors for piece-work, claiming that the men could earn sixteen shillings and upward a week. This in a counter advertisement was denied by the men, who said that the masters were in reality attempting to get cheap labour, and that at the piece-prices offered it would take an extraordinary hand to earn as much as twelve shillings. The strike arising out of this affair was prolonged for some time, and there is no record of the final result. The essential point, however, is that the opposition of the men to the piece-system was on this occasion practically unanimous.

By 1800 certain "friendly societies" had sprung up in the various trades, including that of the tailors. These organi-

⁹Webb, in preface to Galton, *The Tailoring Trade*, p. v. See also in the same work, pp. 7-8, the reprint of "An Abstract of the Master Taylors' Bill, etc."

¹⁰Galton, pp. 71-74.

zations were often known as "clubs," and so far as published rules are concerned, they seem at this time to have been purely beneficiary. About twenty years later, however, (1818), we have documentary accounts of their trade rules, showing that they were maintaining combined activities similar to those of present unions. Of chief interest here is the fact that certain sects had sprung up among the London Tailors' Clubs, one division being known as "Flints" and another as "Dungs," and that the "Dungs" accepted both piece and day work, whereas the "Flints" would work only by the day. Galton conjectures that the "Dungs" may have been inferior workmen, who had at times perhaps taken the places of better men during strikes.¹¹ However this may be, the acceptance of piece-work by any organized tailors shows a change from the Birmingham attitude in 1777. That piece-work was gradually coming in is also shown by certain documents published in 1811. The first, an address by a Committee of Master Tailors to the trade at large, complains among other things that the masters are not at liberty to change their men "from day work to piece-work" without the leave of their servants.¹² The second, an argument on behalf of the journeymen against a bill brought into the House of Commons by the Master Tailors, recites that the trade has "a printed list of prices for work done by the piece, consisting of about 150 different items," and protests against the clause in the bill permitting Judges to decide whether or not the piece-prices constitute a "fair proportion" of day rates.¹³ Finally, we find a stray advertisement

¹¹Galton, p. lxxiv. See also p. 151. The term "dung" was used in America as late as 1885, meaning a "scab." Thus in the following extract: "After ten days strike in Cheyenne against a 'dung' it was lost." (Secretary's report, Proceedings of the 1885 Convention of the Tailors' National Union of the United States, p. 7).

¹²Galton, p. 103.

¹³Galton, p. 117.

regarding a strike in Edinburgh, 1823, in which the men take satirical notice of the "fair and liberal list of prices" offered to them by the masters.¹⁴ All these quotations show that piece-work, while by no means universal, was becoming known in the trade during the period 1775-1825. There is no doubt that the masters favored it in order to adjust more readily their labor costs to the extreme variations in the seasons, as well as to pay in accord with skill and to encourage "speeding."

It has been intended in the foregoing sketch to outline briefly the rise of the journeymen tailoring trade in England, as well as to point out the origin of some of its peculiar features, such as seasonal difficulties and the beginning of piece-scales. We now turn to the study of the American trade.

2. *History of the Trade in America.*

Early History. Records show that the tailor, like the blacksmith and the shoemaker, is one of the pioneers among tradesmen, and is usually found in the vanguard of settlement. Thus we find that there was a tailor with the first Jamestown expedition in 1607, and six more came over during the following year.¹⁵ These tailors belonged to the class of indentured servants; they did not, however, remain permanently in this class, being enabled after a few years to work out or purchase their freedom. In the latter part of the 17th Century the system of indentures still prevailed, but the terms were short.¹⁶ Between 1660 and 1700, several

¹⁴Galton, p. 165.

¹⁵Works of Capt. John Smith, pp. 390, 412. Citation is given by Bruce in his *Economic History of Virginia*, V. 2, p. 471, note.

¹⁶"The covenants into which Luke Mathews, a tailor of Hereford, entered with Thomas Landon of Virginia were probably fairly representative; Mathews bound himself to serve Landon for a period of two years, his term to begin when he reached the Colony; the remunera-

tailors became the owners of large tracts of land, one as large as a thousand acres.¹⁷ This explains in a large measure the scarcity of working tradesmen in the colonies; as fast as they were able they became freemen and citizens, and it was necessary continuously to import others to take their places. Thus in a South Carolina document of 1731 it is stated: "Artificers are so scarce at present, that all sorts of work is very dear; Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, would be particularly acceptable."¹⁸ By 1785 tailors seem to have been more plentiful; we find a merchant of Charleston, South Carolina, who advertises himself as a "Taylor from London," informing the public that he has recently added "several excellent workmen" to his shop, and will be prepared to fill orders more promptly than before, as well as to furnish the English styles.¹⁹

Referring to methods of payment, the piece or at least the job system seems to have been begun much earlier in this country than in England. About the close of the 17th Century, the wages of a tailor in Virginia were 90 pounds of tobacco for making a suit, and from 40 to 60 pounds for making a coat.²⁰ A hundred years later, in Baltimore, wages were

tion was to be six pence a day when working for members of Landon's family, but when for other persons, he was to be entitled to one-half of the proceeds of his labor, whatever it might be." Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, V. 2, pp. 471-2.

¹⁷Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, V. 2, p. 474.

¹⁸Doc. Hist., V. 2, p. 174. Reprinted from "A Description of the Province of South Carolina," Charleston, 1731.

¹⁹Doc. Hist., V. 2, p. 353. Reprint of advertisement from the "Gazette of the State of South Carolina," Charleston, Mch. 7, 1785.

It should be understood that the demand for custom trade in the Colonies was decidedly limited, the greater part of the garments worn being made at home. "The expensive suit of the custom tailor was worn only on holidays and special occasions, and one such suit often did service for a lifetime." (Pope, *The Clothing Industry in New York*, pp. 2-3). This fashionable trade, coupled with some work on servants' liveries, constituted the only demand for the tailors' art.

²⁰Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, V. 2, p. 472.

still reckoned by the job, and the journeymen in that city, by dint of strikes, had succeeded by 1805 in raising their pay to eight shillings and ninepence per job, and had also reduced the amount of a "job" by means of a system of extras.²¹

During the first half of the 19th Century there seems to have been little uniformity in methods of payment, although it is probable that the piece system predominated. It is stated that in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1819, the wages of tailors, "finding themselves and working fourteen or fifteen hours a day," were from \$7.00 to \$9.00 a week,²² but it may be that the observer made this estimate after talking with journeymen about their piece-scales. Methods of payment are spoken of in connection with strikes in Buffalo, 1824,²³ and in Philadelphia, 1827.²⁴ In each case there is clear evidence that "bills of prices" or piece-scales were being employed, and in Philadelphia, at least, it is clear that the men were working in shops on the employer's premises.

It is believed by men familiar with the present trade that a real "itinerant" system prevailed in this country at least as late as 1825. Such a system was widely known in England and on the continent in the early days, especially in the rural districts. The tailor would take his necessary tools and travel about the country, stopping at houses where his services were required, and remaining as a guest of the family until his work was completed. In such cases the cloth was ordinarily home-spun. We have endeavored to find definite

²¹McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 3, p. 511.

²²Hulme's *Journal*, 1818-1819. Reprinted in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V. 10, p. 75.

²³Doc. Hist., V. 4, pp. 93-95.

²⁴Doc. Hist., V. 4, pp. 99-264.

references to this system in America, but thus far without success.²⁵

With reference to the distribution of the early tailors, we can only repeat what was said at the outset of this discussion, namely, that they followed the progress of settlement, and were always among the first on the ground. In Pittsburgh in 1807 there were thirteen tailor shops,²⁶ and in Lexington, Kentucky, about the same time, there were ten shops, employing forty-seven journeymen and apprentices.²⁷ Cincinnati in 1819 had twenty-three shops, with eighty-three workmen.²⁸ About 1820 tailors were coming over from England,²⁹ and were making their way to the frontier settlements, especially Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.³⁰ By 1834 they were found in Fort Union, a fur-trading post on the upper Missouri,³¹ and in 1846 we are told there were four tailor shops in Oregon City, in the Oregon Territory,³² There is no doubt that the tailors were settling in many other localities; enough have been cited to show that they were closely identified with the western movement.

²⁵We are informed by a tailor who learned the trade in Sweden that the itinerant system prevailed in that country as late as 1880. As manufactured cloth became cheaper the itinerant system was gradually replaced by the shop system.

²⁶Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V. 4, p. 247. From Cuming's *Tour to the West*. 1807-1809.

²⁷*Ibid.*, V. 4, p. 186.

²⁸*Ibid.*, V. 9, p. 240. From Flint's *Letters from America*, 1818-1820.

²⁹*Ibid.*, V. 12, p. 155. From Welby's *English Settlements*, 1819-1820.

³⁰*Ibid.*, V. 4, p. 247; V. 10, pp. 58, 75, 135, 271; V. 12, p. 195; V. 27, p. 54. From various writers on early western travels.

³¹*Ibid.*, V. 22, p. 378, note. From Maximilian's *Travels*, 1832-1834.

³²*Ibid.*, V. 30, p. 296. From Palmer's *Journal*, 1845-1846.

Rise of the Ready-Made Industry.

The fact of foremost importance in the history of the garment industry after 1800 is the rise of the manufacture of cheap clothing for the market. This movement agrees in point of time with the development of a middle class, who demanded better clothing than a workingman's suit, but were still unable to pay for the expensive custom suit. The poorer classes for a considerable period had depended largely on second-hand clothing, especially in England; but even these found a use for the coarser grades of new clothing.³³ The garment-working industry may therefore be regarded primarily as a result of the economic demand for cheaper apparel.

We are accustomed to associate the ready-made industry with the introduction of machinery, and it is true that the greatest development has taken place since the invention of the sewing-machine in 1846.³⁴ The industry, however, was known long before this date. There is evidence that as early as 1681 master tailors of London were making up garments in advance of the demand.³⁵ The first ready-made clothing in America, according to Miss Sumner, consisted of shirts for the Indians and men's breeches, which were made in 1725 by a woman in Northfield, Massachusetts.³⁶ A little later establishments grew up to make clothing for sailors and for southern negroes. It was, however, some years before any considerable demand arose for ready-made clothing. When this demand did come, the custom trade was the first to attempt to supply it. Master tailors began to employ their

³³Pope, *The Clothing Industry in New York*, pp. 7-9.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁵Galton, *The Tailoring Trade*, p. xvii.

³⁶Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9: *History of Women in Industry in the United States*, p. 120. (This work will be referred to hereafter simply as "Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9").

journeymen during the slack season making up left-over cloth, and eventually on raw material purchased expressly for this purpose.³⁷ By 1835, the manufacture of ready-made clothing was well established. However, "it was practically confined to men's and boys' clothing of the cheaper grades and to shirts, and the quantities manufactured were necessarily small, the work being all done by hand."³⁸

The introduction of the sewing-machine brought about a revolution in the ready-made industry. The quantity produced increased enormously, and the quality gradually became such as to present a real competition to the custom work. In the endeavor to meet this, merchant tailors insisted upon cheaper production, and as a result the journeymen began taking work to their homes, where they could be assisted by their wives and daughters on the machine processes. Gradually other women took up the trade, becoming either tailors' helpers, or workers on their own account. Thus, the making of trousers and vests came to be largely carried on by women.³⁹

The Civil War demand had a great influence on the clothing industry, especially in the ready-made branch. For a discussion of this period, as well as of the later development of the ready-made industry, the reader is referred to studies which deal in the main with that industry alone.⁴⁰ We have pursued the inquiry only far enough to notice the origin of the leading features of custom work. By 1865 this trade

³⁷Pope, *The Clothing Industry in New York*, pp. 11-12.

³⁸Sumner, *Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9*, pp. 121-122.

³⁹Pope, *The Clothing Industry in New York*, p. 13.

⁴⁰The following works are of value for this purpose, some of which have already been cited: Pope, *The Clothing Industry in New York*; Sumner, *History of Women in Industry in the United States*, *Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9*; Andrews and Bliss, *History of Women in Trade Unions*, *Sen. Doc. 645, V. 10*, pp. 160-172; Willett, Mabel H., *The Employment of Women in the Clothing Trade*.

seems to have assumed much of its present form, and later changes have operated not so much to alter conditions in the industry as to limit the extent to which it is still carried on. The following chapter will consider the present status of the trade and the effect of the constant cheapening of production.

CHAPTER II.

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE TAILORING TRADE IN AMERICA.⁴¹

I. *Character of Establishments and Methods of Production.*

Before considering present conditions in the tailoring trade, it is necessary to define "custom tailoring." The term "tailoring," as colloquially used, is sometimes held to include all work upon men's, women's, and children's suits. "Custom tailoring," however, applies only to the making of clothing to the order and measure of each individual customer; and as the term is used in this paper it applies to men's clothing only. This is in accord with the most common usage, which applies the term "garment working" to the ready-made industry, and "ladies' tailoring" or "dress-making" to custom work for women.

There are few industries which present the same variety and complexity in types of production as does the garment industry. This fact is as true of the custom branch as of any other division of the trade. Here may be found every gradation, from the lone "entrepreneur," representing in his own person the entire establishment, to the large and well-equipped store on Fifth Avenue. In describing these gradations it seems best to begin with the smaller establishments.

⁴¹A considerable portion of the material in this chapter is based upon correspondence and interviews with practical tailors, and upon the writer's own experience. Citations of authorities will not, therefore, be found as numerous as elsewhere in the thesis. Statements with reference to technicalities in the trade, where not supported by citations, have been revised with the aid of the officers of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

It is not uncommon in the small towns, and on the less prosperous streets of our larger cities, to find a tailor who, in the slang of the trade, is "running a tack." This means that he has a small shop, either at home or in a store building, and takes orders for suits, which he cuts and finishes entirely by his own labor. This, of course, stands for the minimum so far as size of establishment is concerned.

The "tack" could be enlarged by enlisting the tailor's family, or by the employment of one or more "helpers" to do the plain work and machine sewing. The next step toward increasing the scope of the business would be the employment of one or more additional journeymen. This would raise the tailor to the rank of a "boss," and on his stationery and in the newspaper he would advertise himself as a "merchant tailor." The journeymen might or might not employ helpers. The boss would continue to take orders and to do his own cutting. These "small shops," or "medium shops," employing from one to a dozen or fifteen workmen, are the typical establishments of many of the smaller cities; they are also numerous in the less fashionable districts of the metropolis. If business warranted the boss could hire a cutter, and devote his own attention to the management. In the shops of this type the journeymen include coatmakers, vestmakers, and trousers-makers, each having learned some particular branch of the trade, and having frequently a man or woman helper. Apprentices in the true sense are found occasionally, being boys or girls aiming to become skilled journeymen; but there are many helpers, mistaken for apprentices by outsiders, who do not expect to learn the more difficult parts of the trade, and who regard their employment as being in many ways similar to factory work. In addition, there is a "bushelman" or repair man employed, who is paid by the

week, and has about the same wage and qualifications as a skilled journeyman.⁴²

Referring more concretely to the shops, it may be said that they are often on the same floor with the employer's store, in which case, if situated at the back of the store, they are called "back-shops." In other cases, they are found on an upper floor of the store building, or quite often in a different building. The essentials of a good shop are light and cleanliness. In these respects, of course, all degrees can be found, but most of the shops furnished by the bosses for union men are reasonably decent. They are usually found over-looking streets and alley-ways, from which the necessary light can be had, although a few shops in the downtown districts of large cities are artificially lighted. In the daylight shops the benches are arranged near the windows, and here the tailor squats in his traditional position, plying his needle. His other equipment and tools are thimble, chalk and tape, shears, "goose" or smoothing iron, pressing board, and sew-

⁴²As a sample of the distribution of workmen among the various branches of the trade the following statement is given, showing the present composition of the Tailors' Union in Kansas City, Missouri, including 223 persons working at the trade. The figures are from the local secretary of the union:

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Per cent of total working force.</i>
Coatmakers	138	62.0
Vestmakers	27	12.1
Pantsmakers	23	10.3
Helpers	19	8.5
Bushelmen	16	7.1
Total	223	100.0

Estimates given by three officers of the National Tailors' Union, as to the probable distribution of all union tailors in the United States and Canada among the various branches of the trade, have been averaged, with the following result:

<i>Trade.</i>	<i>Per cent of total.</i>
Coatmakers	56.0
Vestmakers	16.2
Pantsmakers	19.5
Bushelmen, helpers, and weekly men	8.3

ing machine. The boss or cutter has a broad cutting-table, which is often in the main store-room. It will be seen that the furnishing of a shop is simple, and does not require a large outlay of capital. Usually the merchant tailor has risen from the ranks of the journeymen, and the most successful merchants, with the exception perhaps of a few partners who uphold the social end of the business in the larger cities, are recruited in this way.

The fine stores, catering to fashionable trade in the larger cities, frequently employ salesmen and cutters, in addition to the members of the firm. The journeymen employed by these stores are of the same type as those that have been described, but, as a rule, they work in private shops away from the store building, these shops being furnished at the tailors' own expense. The following list includes the finest stores in several large cities. These stores sell suits ranging in price from \$50 to \$125, and employ the best workers obtainable, paying usually a little more than the average current wages.

<i>Firm.</i>	<i>Locality.</i>
Dunn	Boston
Bell, James W.	New York
Rock, Matthew	New York
Muehler & Company	Philadelphia
Bullock & Jones	San Francisco
Stevenson, Harry	Chicago
Berger, Harry	Chicago
De Lang & Company	Chicago ⁴³

⁴³A member of the tailors' union in Chicago has furnished the writer with statistics regarding the three firms in that city, and this information is herewith submitted.

<i>Firm.</i>	<i>Salesmen. (Including firm)</i>	<i>Cutters and Trimmers.</i>	<i>Journeymen. (Including Helpers. Bushelmen)</i>
Stevenson, H.	4	5	85
Berger, H.	4	5	72
De Lang & Co.	2	2	34

It should be noted that the helpers are paid by the journeymen, and not directly by the merchant tailor.

The Bell store in New York employs about 200 persons, distributed as to occupation in about the same proportion as in the Chicago shops.

We have hitherto spoken of the typical custom tailoring shop, furnished by the employer, in which most of the journeymen are specialists and piece-workers. It must, however, be understood, that while probably more than half of the custom work of America is made in this type of shop, there are wide deviations from the type, some of these exceptions being in the nature of survivals from former conditions, others representing tendencies of a transitional character. We shall first speak of the survivals.

Home Work.

The origin of home work, following the introduction of the sewing machine, has already been discussed. It is unfortunately true that such work still prevails in the custom trade, as well as in the ready-made clothing industry. Two types of home industry may be distinguished; work obtained directly from one or more merchants, and work obtained from contractors or piece-masters.

It is sometimes true that a journeyman working at home will take all of his work from a single employer. Most home workers, however, take work from any employer who may happen to need help, thus working at different times, or even at the same time, for several stores. In the vest and trousers trade especially, contractors or "piece-masters" are often found, who make no work themselves, but contract with employers to get the work done, and then give it out to journeymen to be made, frequently in the tailors' homes. A "piece-master" may employ as many as five or six men to do the skilled work and perhaps fifty girls as finishers,⁴⁴ or from

⁴⁴Where so large a number of workers are employed by the contractor, he usually operates a shop, the work being mainly either for the cheap custom trade or for special order trade. The contract system is found in nearly every branch of the clothing trade. Even some of the better class of work, usually made in regular custom shops, is handled by contractors. It is difficult to trace all the variations of the trade, only a few of which have been noted here.

that number down to eight or ten workers all told. This is a genuine "sweating" system, and is so called in the trade. Home workers seldom employ outside helpers, but are often assisted by members of their own families.

Private Shops.

Between the employer's shop and the home shop lies the "private shop." It should be noted here that an employer's shop is called a "free shop" when furnished to the journeymen free of rent or charges. In a few employers' shops "seat-rent" is charged to the journeymen. The practice, however, of paying for seat-room is more usual in "private shops." A journeyman will rent a shop and then sublet seat-room to his fellow-workers at a rate varying from 75 cents to \$1.50 a week for skilled workers and 50 cents to \$1.00 for helpers. This system is adopted by journeymen who want to work for several stores, but who do not want to work at home, or who have no home. There are perhaps 2000 tailors in New York City in private shops, and these shops are found in many other large cities. Occasionally, these shops are run on a cooperative plan, but more often sublet as described.

The diverse conditions that may prevail in a single town are well illustrated by a report of an organizer of the Tailors' Union, who was traveling in Indiana in 1896. This report shows that in the town of Kokomo, having a population at that time of about 9000, the organizer found "four men working single-handed;⁴⁵ two week hands with one helper; one man working at home with his wife and one helper; one boss making coats with a helper who also makes vests; one pantmaker with one and sometimes two helpers."⁴⁶

We may now pass to what have been termed "transi-

⁴⁵Without helpers.

⁴⁶J. W. DeFord, in *Tailor*, March, 1896, p. 4.

tional" phases. These are found in establishments employing methods similar to those in the ready-made industry, and in establishments handling both custom and ready-made clothing. Ready-made clothing is made up mainly by machine workers, either at home or in factories. By this means clothing has been so much cheapened that old-line custom tailoring is in constant danger of extinction. This fact has obliged merchant tailors and designers to seek ways and means of meeting this competition, and the favorite plan has been to adopt systems of making clothing to measure, which at the same time will employ a finer subdivision of labor and a wider use of machinery. Such systems are variously known as "factory," "sectional," or "team" systems, and serve as good illustrations of the tendency toward cheapening and specialization which is today found in most industries.

Under the head of "factory shops," the larger establishments will be first discussed. These establishments make work for customers in their own city, and also for a considerable surrounding territory.⁴⁷ Local agents and traveling salesmen carry samples, and take the measures of individual customers. The specifications are then sent to the head establishment and turned over to the cutter, who makes the pattern. An employee called the "chopper" then takes the pattern and cuts the goods. The trimmings are put in by the "trimmer," and then the job is sent to the factory department. Here a "marker" chalks the pockets, button-holes, and some of the rougher seams. The work then goes through a number of hands, ending finally with the presser.⁴⁸

⁴⁷The writer has a letter from the Commissioner of Labor of Oklahoma, stating that garments from the factory shops of Chicago and St. Louis are sold in his state. In fact, this trade extends to the Pacific coast.

⁴⁸One of the largest "factory shops" now in operation is that of Kahn & Co., Indianapolis. This shop employs several hundred people, and handles work for customers throughout the middle west. Similar shops are found in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Chi-

A "sectional" or "team" shop is held by its advocates to be essentially different from a factory shop. The following quotation is from a well-known Chicago designer and teacher of cutting:⁴⁹ "Section work is by no means factory work and is as different as day is from night. Section work means that five or six persons work together in one group, each devoting his energy and ability to the development of a different part of the garment. For example, a section of six would be constituted as follows:

No. 1. Apprentice, Junior. Duties: rough padding, sewing and all-round assistance.

No. 2. Apprentice, Senior. Duties: pockets, linings, individual pressing.

No. 3. Tailor, Junior. Duties: basting under canvas, linings, basting on stay tapes, etc; individual pressing and pressing for No. 1.

No. 4. Tailor, Senior. Duties: Edges, buttonholes, pressing off, etc.

No. 5. Directing foreman, sleeve hanger, collar and shoulder adjuster, etc.

No. 6. Girl for plain sewing."

The same writer believes that sectional work is the hope of the trade, and that it will be gradually adopted for high-

cago, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Seattle. The same system prevails in several smaller cities, though not on so large a scale. The firm of Gray & Graham in Dallas, Texas, formerly a typical old-line shop, employing about forty journeymen, changed their system to the factory plan a few years ago. Previous to the change they were paying a good piece-scale; coats \$8.00 and upward, pants \$2.75 and upward, vests \$2.50 and upward. A time scale is now employed with wages ranging from \$3.00 to \$15.00 a week. About fifty persons are employed in the operating department. Only about four of these are strictly skilled workers, the balance being operatives who have learned specialized parts of the work, and who could not be classed as old-line journeymen. It should be noted that the change to the "factory" system usually involves a change from piece-rates to time-rates for all workers employed.

⁴⁹F. T. Croonborg, in *Tailor*, Dec., 1911, p. 5. Reprint of address to Philadelphia and Boston Merchant Tailors.

class merchant tailoring; in fact, he states, many merchants are already using this plan. In this opinion many of the rising generation of merchants concur; it is significant, however, that the older men still cling to the individual system. At a Merchant Tailors' Convention in Washington, D. C., February, 1911, Mr. Edwin N. Doll, a well known New York tailor and former officer of Merchants' Associations, spoke strongly in favor of the old system of skilled individual work and hand-sewing. In this matter, he was not in agreement with the more "progressive" spirits in the Convention, and it seems probable that the sectional system in some form is destined to find increasing favor.⁵⁰

The team described by Mr. Croonborg would be suitable for a shop of considerable size. He suggests that there might be as many as fifteen or eighteen sections working on one floor. A modified team system, however, may be found in many smaller shops. For example, it is quite usual to find in New England towns a shop with one journeyman on the bench, who marks and plans the work, and employs in addition two or three sewing girls, a machine operator and a pressman. Between this kind of a shop and the largest team shops there are, of course, many gradations. Occasion will be found, in the section on wage-payment, Chapter 4, to speak of "weekly shops," employing some "old-line" journeymen, but paying them by the week, and of "mixed shops," containing both weekly workers and piece-workers.

We now turn to the form of production which is the most distinctly transitional of all, namely, the "special order." Here, as in the case of the systems already described, the local agent or the traveling salesman takes the measure of the customer and his choice of samples. However, instead of sending it to a shop especially adapted for custom work, he sends it to a regular garment factory, usually in a

⁵⁰Sartorial Art Journal, April, 1911, p. 450.

large city, where it is made up by operatives of the same type as those who manufacture the ready-made. The agencies vary in type, some being conducted by local special-order stores, and some by ready-made stores that maintain a special-order department. This type of trade is sold in all communities; an especially good field is found in the small towns and the rural districts, where agents sell suits to measure practically as cheap as the ready-made. The term "special-order" is rather loosely employed, but in its most proper use refers to this "garment-working to measure" which we have just described.

Before leaving the subject of the character of establishments, mention should be made of the pressing, cleaning, and repairing shops, which often employ a journeyman tailor, and also of the repair and alteration department of ready-made clothing stores, where the employee is called a bushelman, and requires considerable skill, being distinctively a tailor and not a garment-worker.

2. SEASONS.

It is evident from the nature of the tailoring trade that it is profoundly affected by the seasons. Few industries depend so strongly upon climatic conditions as does that of clothing. To give the exact boundaries of the seasons for the whole continent is of course impossible; they vary from place to place and from year to year. In the writer's own locality, the North Central States, the distinctly busy seasons are the spring and fall. The following table shows in general the trade calendar for this region:

January	Poor
February	Very poor
March	"Picking up"
April	Good

May	Good
June	Fair
July	Poor
August	Very poor
September	Fair
October	Good
November	Good
December	Fair

The variations are very wide, and as a result practically all the evils of "seasonal" trades are rampant in this one; long hours and crowded work in some periods, and in other periods virtually none. The number of hours that a tailor will put in during the rush season is limited only by his endurance. Twenty-four hours on a stretch is not unknown, and twelve to eighteen hours is very common.

3. TERRITORIAL ASPECTS.

With reference to territorial aspects of the industry, climate of course has its influence, determining the seasons and the kind of clothing in demand. In addition, there are other matters of importance in connection with the territorial features of the trade. For purposes of discussion a broad classification is adopted, as follows: (1) East; (2) South; (3) North Central and Middle West; (4) Mountain and Pacific; (5) Canada.

1. *East.*

With regard to the East, meaning principally the New England and Middle Atlantic States, it may be said that the widest contrasts exist. Here are found some of the finest tailoring stores in America; here, again, are to be seen the worst consequences of unrestricted immigration and of sweating. The system prevalent in the smaller New England

towns has already been described; the larger cities are not different, except that the "piece-masters" handle more work and employ more help, and not so much skilled labor in proportion. There is a general tendency in the large cities, like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore, for the skilled tailors to enter the contracting business, or at least to employ a number of helpers, and even the finer garments are made largely in rented shops or in the tailors' homes. The journeymen of these cities include numbers of Italians and Jews, who are often content apparently to raise their earnings by indefinitely long hours, rather than by insisting on better rates. In former years the Irish, German and Swedish tailors predominated, but in later times they have been rapidly replaced.

2. *South.*

In the South, as would be expected, the heavier garments, such as winter suits and overcoats, are not made to the same extent as elsewhere. In the warmer states much of the trade is for tourists, and varies with the winter-resort seasons. Many tailors, who are without home ties, and are sometimes known as "birds of passage," follow the trade, entering the Southern cities during the good season, and traveling elsewhere during other seasons.⁵¹ There are many English speaking tailors in the South, including some negroes. Good stores are found in Atlanta, New Orleans, Charleston, and other leading cities. Free shops are practically universal. Some Mexican tailors are found in Texas and other states near the border.⁵² With the exception of

⁵¹The Secretary of the Tailors' Union in Hot Springs, Ark., reports as follows: "Few men work here one year, as this is different from other towns, being a health resort. They only stay a few months."

⁵²It is stated by a member of the San Antonio Union that helpers in that locality are mostly Mexicans, who spend their winters in the cities, working at comparatively low wages, and then work in the country at farm work during the summer.

the above points there is little of special interest connected with the trade in the South.

3. *North Central and Middle West.*

Conditions of immigration in the large cities of this section are somewhat similar to the East, though not so aggravated. Numbers of Italian and Jewish tailors are found; but also many Germans and Scandinavians, especially in Chicago and Minneapolis. Buffalo and Cleveland contain many Poles and Bohemians.⁵³ A characteristic of the whole region is the wide range of territory covered by the factory and special order business. The central plants are located chiefly in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Indianapolis, and St. Louis, and in some of the smaller towns in the central and west central states the old style tailoring business has been virtually wiped out. Nearly all cities of considerable size have still some fine merchant tailoring stores, but all have been affected by the new systems, and by the continuous improvement of ready-made clothing.

4. *Mountain and Pacific.*

In these districts, numbers of Italians are found, especially in San Francisco. The changes brought by factory work continue, but now under the influence largely of Portland, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles. These cities, like those in the other sections, show all gradations as regards the quality of the trade. The movement for modern or "sectional" methods seem unusually strong in Seattle, and is not opposed by the journeymen to the same extent as in

⁵³It is the opinion of Secretary Brais of the National Tailors' Union that when the whole country is considered, the leading nationalities among union tailors stand in the following order as to number: (1) Scandinavians, (2) Germans, (3) Hungarians and Austrians, (4) British and Americans (including Canadians, Scotch, Irish, Welsh), (5) Finns and Russians, (6) Italians. The Hebrews are not listed as a separate nationality, as they come from several countries.

the East. The question of Japanese and Chinese labor, so prominent in some trades, seems scarcely to affect the tailors. Trade conditions in general share the remarkable prosperity of western communities; this is especially true in Oregon, Washington and California.

5. *Canada.*⁵⁴

In the Canadian cities tailors are more numerous in proportion to the population than in the States. This in the main is for two reasons: (1) The changes in systems of production have not proceeded so far in Canada, and there is more of the old-line custom work being done. (2) The custom trade is better than in the States for the reason that there is no tariff on imported cloth, and suits can be sold cheaper.⁵⁵ The Canada tailors are not so migratory as those in the States. In many cases they settle for life in a given community, and often become prosperous citizens. The leading nationalities are English, Irish, Scotch and French Canadian. A high class of trade is made in Canada; the American styles hold sway, and Canadian merchants belong to the same Associations as Americans. At a Merchants' Convention and style show held in Toronto several years ago, the prize for a single garment was awarded to a Prince Albert coat made in Hamilton, Ontario. Methods of production are similar to those in the States, except that in the States pants and vests are made almost exclusively by men with women helpers, whereas in Canada ninety per cent of this kind of work is made by women. There are also a number of skilled coatmakers in Canada who are women, and earn the same piece-rates as the men.

⁵⁴A considerable part of the information given here has been furnished by Mr. Hugh Robinson, Canadian organizer for the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

⁵⁵It is the belief of an officer of the National Tailors' Union that a suit which sells for \$40 in the States could be sold for \$25 in Canada, on account of the difference in the tariff.

Concluding Note, Territorial Aspects. With reference to working conditions and union organizations in the various sections, the reader is referred to the tables in Chapter 4, which contain reports from seventy-three cities containing tailors' unions. Matter of interest also will be found in the notes to these tables.

(4) PRICES AND CUSTOMERS.

No discussion of a trade would be complete without some mention of customers and prices. Custom tailoring of the better grade is distinctively a luxury, and the rich or well-to-do classes constitute upon the whole its principal patrons. The greater part of the trade is made for business men and professional men in cities. There is little expensive tailoring done for the agricultural classes; the farmers usually patronize the special order or the ready-made. The same is true of the laboring classes as a whole, although a custom suit is occasionally bought by the better paid tradesmen in the cities.

In speaking of the fine stores of the country brief mention was made of the prices paid for suits by customers of these stores. For high, low and average prices in union stores all over the country, the reader is referred to the tables in Chapter 4.

(5) CONCLUDING NOTE.

It has not been attempted in the foregoing outline to describe the tailoring trade in detail. Such a task would require a volume by itself. The aim has been primarily to make clear the broad general features of the trade, and especially those that are essential to an understanding of organized movements among the tailors, to the study of which the writer's further efforts are to be directed.

CHAPTER 3.

HISTORY OF TAILORS' UNIONS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. 1721-1887.

I. EARLY ENGLISH UNIONS.

In Chapter I a brief account was given of the rise of a class of journeymen tailors in England. We must now inquire into the history of early combinations in the trade.

It is generally admitted by economists that the trade unions are not the lineal descendants of the guilds, but are rather to be regarded as simply one of the consequences of the varying conditions that followed the breakdown of the mediaeval system. Continuous associations or unions in the modern sense did not appear until the divorce of the worker from the ownership of the means of production. This statement is strengthened by the fact that the first combinations of a permanent character are contemporary with the rise of a capitalist class. The rise of such a class in the tailoring trade, as has been noted, occurred between 1650 and 1725. To this period we turn, therefore, for the first trade unions of tailors.

It is agreed by Webb and Galton, the writers who have made the most careful study of the trade in England, that the first organization of tailors that can justly be termed a trade union was the combination entered into by the tailors of London and Westminster in the year 1721.⁵⁶ Our attention is called to this combination by a complaint of the masters to Parliament, which is found in the Journal of the

⁵⁶Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 38; p. 39 (note). Galton, *The Tailoring Trade*, p. xiv.

House of Commons for that year. It is believed by Mr. Galton that if combinations of tailors had existed earlier than this, mention would be found in the House Journals, for it was seldom during this period that the masters in any industry failed to report their grievances to Parliament. No such mention, however, is found. Moreover, there is no reference to combinations in the "hand-books" which were supplied by master tailors to journeymen, containing trade maxims and instructions. In view of these facts we may accept 1721 as the date of the first "Journeyman Tailors' Union," at least so far as our present information extends.

In connection with this combination, it is interesting to read a part of the merchant tailors' petition, which we quote herewith:

"The Journeyman Taylors in and about the cities of London and Westminster, to the number of seven thousand and upwards, have lately entered into a combination to raise their wages, and leave off working an hour sooner than they used to do; and for the better carrying on of their design, have subscribed their respective names in books prepared for that purpose, at the several houses of call or resort, (being publick-houses in and about London and Westminster), where they use; and collect several considerable sums of money to defend any prosecutions against them.

"At this time, there are but few of them come to work at all, and most of those that do, insist upon, and have, twelve shillings and nine-pence per week (instead of ten shillings and nine-pence per week, the usual wages), and leave off work at eight of the clock at night (instead of nine, their usual hour, time out of mind), and very great numbers of them go loitering about the town, and seduce and corrupt all they can meet; to the great hindrance and prejudice of trade.....

"This combination of the Journeyman Taylors is and may

be attended with many very ill consequences; inasmuch as the publick is deprived of the benefit of the labour of a considerable number of the subjects of this kingdom, and the families of several of these journeymen thereby impoverished, and likely to become a charge and burthen to the publick; and the very persons themselves who are under this unlawful combination, choosing rather to live in idleness, than to work at their usual rates and hours, will not only become useless and burthensome, but also very dangerous to the publick; and are of very ill example to journeymen in all other trades; as is sufficiently seen in the Journeymen Curriers, Smiths, Farriers, Sail-makers, Coach-makers, and artificers of divers other arts and mysteries, who have actually entered into confederacies of the like nature; and the Journeymen Carpenters, Bricklayers, and Joyners have taken some steps for that purpose, and only wait to see the event of others."⁵⁷

In reply to this petition, the Journeymen presented arguments by counsel against the bill desired by the merchants. The net result of the whole affair was the passage by Parliament, June 7, 1721, of an Act (7th George I), entitled, "An Act for regulating the Journeymen Taylors within the Weekly Bills of Mortality."⁵⁸ The main provisions of this Act were: (1) Combinations to raise wages were forbidden, on pain of imprisonment. (2) Wages and hours were established and penalties set for violation of the schedule by either masters or journeymen. Provision was made for the Justices of the Peace at their quarter-sessions to revise the schedules if necessary. By the Act as passed hours were

⁵⁷From "The Case of the Master Taylors, etc." Quoted by Galton, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁸"Weekly Bills of Mortality" refers to parishes or districts outlined for administrative purposes during the plague of 1665. The term here simply defines the jurisdiction of a part of London and Westminster. The full text of the Act, together with the main arguments and petitions on each side, may be found in Galton, pp. 1-22.

to be from 6 a. m. to 8 p. m., with one-half hour off for breakfast and one hour for dinner. Wages from the 25th of March to the 24th of June were to be 2 shillings a day; for other seasons 1s. 8d. Journeymen were forbidden to refuse work at these rates, unless for some "reasonable or sufficient" cause. By this law the tailors secured a slight improvement in their condition, but were prevented from continuing their combination openly. It is probable, however, that it was still maintained in secret.

In the same year, 1721, a legal prosecution is recorded under the caption, "The King v. the Journeymen Tailors of Cambridge," in which "One Wise, and several other journeymen-tailors, of or in the town of Cambridge, were indicted for a conspiracy among themselves to raise their wages, and were found guilty."⁵⁹ The proceedings in this case are somewhat obscure, and it is a question as to just what law was applied.⁶⁰ It is of interest, however, as showing that the movement to organize was not confined to the metropolis.

It is not our purpose to follow in detail the entire history of the labor movement among the English tailors. It is desired, however, to bridge the gap between the associations of 1721 and the beginning of the movement in America, which took place in the early part of the 19th Century. For the details of this period the reader is referred to Mr. Galton's excellent monograph on *The Tailoring Trade*.⁶¹ There was no very considerable interval during which there were not disturbances among the tailors, and many of these disturbances were widespread, involving in one case as many as 15,000 journeymen.⁶² As long as the system of legal regu-

⁵⁹Galton, p. 23.

⁶⁰Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 61, note.

⁶¹An outline of the history of English unions, based upon Mr. Galton's work, is given in the appendix to this chapter.

⁶²Galton, p. xxx.

lation prevailed, the tailors were able to secure some advances in wages from the Court of Quarter-Sessions. Toward the end of the 18th Century, however, the conflict of interests and demands among the master tailors themselves tended to confuse Parliament, and to prevent definite action upon proposed laws regulating the trade. Meanwhile both masters and journeymen were evading the laws, and the workmen were coming to depend more upon strikes to secure their demands. This effort was handicapped by the general Combination Acts of 1799-1800, and even after the repeal of these Acts in 1824 and 1825, the tailors' "clubs" found it very difficult to cope with the masters. Attempts by the journeymen to conduct extensive strikes in London and Manchester in 1834 were complete failures, due in part to the employment of women. After this date conditions changed rapidly. The old workmen's clubs were breaking up in all trades, and the period was characterized by premature efforts at national organization and general strikes, led largely by Robert Owen. There is found here a convenient point at which to turn to the American movement, with which our further inquiry is to be mainly occupied.

2. EARLY UNIONS IN AMERICA.

It is obviously impossible, without access to old newspapers, journals, and union records of the period, to give an exhaustive account of tailors' organizations and strikes in America. The writer has been obliged to rely largely upon scattered and miscellaneous sources, and it is not claimed that the study here submitted is complete. It may, however, serve in some measure to illustrate the history and conditions of the tailors during the past century.

Colonial Period, 1607-1776. In Chapter I a few references were made to the tailoring trade in the Colonies. The

union movement does not, however, really begin in any trade until practically the close of the Colonial Period.

1776-1820. The earliest American trade union, according to Professor Commons, was the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers, organized in Philadelphia in 1794. If this be accepted, the tailors were not far behind, for they were striking in Baltimore in 1795, and are said to have had a society in that city for some time previous. There was another strike in the same city in 1805.⁶³ By the year 1806 at least three additional unions had been organized—Philadelphia, New York and Boston.⁶⁴ There was a strike in New York in 1819 to prevent the employment of women.⁶⁵ It seems probable, however, that the societies were not as yet upon a firm basis, and that their militant activities belong to a later period.

1820-1840. A good characterization of this period, including an allusion to the tailoring trade, is found in the following extract:⁶⁶

"The first period in American trade unionism begins prac-

⁶³"Associations of journeymen of one trade were almost invariably for the purpose of regulating wages. When, therefore, about 1805, the pay of the unskilled laborer began to rise, and that of the skilled laborer did not, a series of strikes was inaugurated. The journeymen tailors of Baltimore had one as early as 1795, and forced wages up to seven shillings and sixpence per job, and another in October, 1805, when the pay per job was fixed at eight shillings and ninepence, and a system of 'extras' introduced, by which what had once been four jobs was at last made to count as eight." McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 3, p. 511.

⁶⁴The Philadelphia Union is stated to have been the first by the Colorado Commissioner of Labor, who probably obtained his information from officers of the Tailors' Union in Denver. The Philadelphia union was composed mainly of English tailors, who until its organization had retained their membership in English unions. (Colo., *Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1899-1900*, p. 336). The New York union is vouched for by Professor Carlton, (*History and Problems of Organized Labor*, p. 17), and the Boston union by its present officers and members, who celebrated the Centennial in 1906. (Tailor, November, 1906, p. 17).

⁶⁵Sumner, Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9, p. 120.

⁶⁶Andrews and Bliss, Sen. Doc. 645, V. 10, p. 21.

tically with the year 1825 and extends to 1840. It was a period of experiment, of temporary successes, of humanitarian awakenings, of new agitations. The year 1825 marked the beginning of the first extensive strikes for the ten-hour day. In 1827, in Philadelphia, the first city federation of labor, the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, was organized. In January of the following year the first wage-earners paper, the Mechanics' Free Press, was established in Philadelphia. At the same time in the same city the first labor party was formed. In New York, in 1834, the first national trade union was organized, and for three years it brought together in annual convention the scattered representatives of organized labor, until the panic of 1837 brought the movement to an abrupt close. But in the meantime trade unionism had induced many reforms. Among the questions discussed were popular education, public lands, prison labor, immigration, and child labor. Another problem, the position and influence of women in industry, was already pressing for solution. The labor of women had become an important feature in industrial life, and with the beginning of the general trade-union movement organizations of female wage-workers were formed.

"Indications of protective organization among the tailoresses of New York are found as early as April, 1825. Newspapers of other cities, commenting upon this effort of the young women tailoresses, predicted that their meeting would result in a 'turn-out for higher wages.' But the novelty of the situation at that time was plainly reflected in the editorial exclamation: 'What next?'"

The first tailors' strike in America of which we have anything like a detailed account is that which occurred in Buffalo in 1824. On this occasion the Journeymen were tried for

conspiracy, and after two trials were found guilty and each find \$2.00.⁶⁷

Of still greater importance was the strike and conspiracy trial in Philadelphia in 1827. The proceedings of the trial are preserved practically complete,⁶⁸ and are of great interest, as nearly all the circumstances of the original controversy, as well as the nature and rules of tailors' societies in Philadelphia at this time, were thoroughly reviewed in the trial. The original dispute arose over the price which should be paid for making a "lady's riding habit, of thin pongee." Such a garment was not mentioned in the bill of prices signed by the employers, who offered about six dollars for the work, claiming that a similar piece of work had been previously paid for at that rate by a merchant in the city. The Journeymen claimed that the garment now in question had called for certain "extras" not on the riding habit taken as a standard by the employers, and that the price should be increased

⁶⁷Information regarding this strike is found in the *Buffalo Em-porium*, Dec. 25, 1824. The following note is based upon a quotation in the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, V. 4, pp. 93-95.

"On Monday last all the journeymen tailors of the village had what they call a turn out for higher wages. They presented to their employers bills of prices." The demands were refused. Several of the journeymen were brought up the next day before a court of special sessions and tried for conspiracy. The custom was proved to exist throughout the United States to stigmatize persons who worked during strikes. The "Flints," or loyal tailors, took care to spread information of such persons.

In the argument, the prosecution contended that it was the act of combination that constituted the crime, and not the refusal to labor. The English Courts and several labor cases in New York City was cited. In reply counsel for the defendants claimed that conspiracy in such cases was not known at common law, and that it was covered by special statute in England, no such statute having ever been adopted in America. "To make the conduct of these defendants criminal," the speaker added, "would be contrary to the genius of our institutions and an abridgement of our rights."

The first jury disagreed, but the second brought in a verdict of guilty, and the sentence was as noted above.

⁶⁸The Trial of Twenty-four Journeymen Tailors, charged with a conspiracy. Phila., 1827. Reprinted in *Doc. Hist.* V. 4, pp. 99-264.

to about seven dollars. The employing firm, Ropp & Winebrener, paid the seven dollars, but at the same time notified the five journeymen involved that their services would no longer be required. These journeymen complained to fellow-members of their tailors' society, (there were three societies, all told, in the city,) and a special meeting was called "to take into consideration late occurrences at the shop of Robb & Winebrener." At this meeting it was decided to call out all members of the society working in the shop unless the discharged men were reinstated, and, in accord with this decision, several tailors left their work. Street quarrels arose, involving both bosses and men, and warrants were sworn out on both sides.

In the indictment the men were charged with eight counts, involving mainly conspiracy to force the re-employment of those discharged, to extort higher wages, and to "injure and oppress" workmen who were hired in place of the strikers. In the course of the testimony it was brought out that the Tailors' Society to which the defendants belonged was working under a "formal constitution, unincorporated."⁶⁹ Working on strike work was said by one witness to be "contrary to all rules among the journeymen tailors." In another place the definite rule of the society is quoted, as follows: "Article 14. Any man going to work at the time of a turn-out, and at a time when young men are standing out for their rights in this city, or any of the principal towns of the U. S., if it shall come to the knowledge of this Society, the parties so offending shall pay a fine of five dollars; and after paying the same, if any member shall upbraid him for his former conduct, he shall pay the sum of one dollar."

With reference to the enforcement of a union shop rule, testimony was given by several witnesses. William Robb, a

⁶⁹It was charged by the prosecution that copies of the rules had been destroyed, so that they could not be brought in evidence.

workman called by the prosecution, testified: "I have heard the rules of the Society explained by some of the defendants to new journeymen. I have heard them say they must join the second Monday night after entering, and if not, they would be fined 25 cents. If they persisted in not joining, they could not work in the shop." And from another witness: "The rule was that when a man had worked in a shop ten or twelve days, he was forced to join, or each one in the shop would be liable to a fine." The counsel for the prosecution, in the concluding speeches, insisted that the evidence had shown conclusively the existence of such rules, and compared them with certain written rules in the constitution of the New York Cordwainers. The testimony for the defense, on the other hand, was somewhat different from that given above. One witness testified that there was no rule of the Society relating to journeymen's work. They were shop rules, but no rule of the Society. Another witness, although called by the prosecution, made the same statement, and added: "In the shop in which I work there are journeymen who do not belong to the Society. If a poor journeymen will not join the society, I would do nothing. If one who could pay were to enter the shop we would recommend his joining, with the concurrence of our employer, and if he refused, we would do nothing."

It seems quite probable that the conflicting statements on this subject are due to the fact that there were three societies in the city, which may have had different rules. Enough has been shown, however, to indicate that the question of the union shop is by no means a new one in the tailoring trade. The jury in this case brought in a verdict of guilty, but only upon one count, namely: "Conspiring to re-employ T. Radford, T. Hough, James Wilson, Thomas Skeegs, and William Scott, who had been dismissed for demanding greater than the usual wages paid by Robb and Winebrener and others."

On the other seven counts the journeymen were acquitted. Motions in arrest of judgment and for a new trial were made by the defense. By agreement of counsel the argument on the motions was postponed until the December term, 1827. An inspection of the record, however, shows that the motions were never argued.

The Philadelphia trial has been discussed in some detail, as indicating that a tailors' strike in 1827 was not so far different from similar disturbances today. The proceedings are also of interest in that they show the extent to which trade union rules had developed at this date.

Several other strikes are mentioned during this period. In 1833 the New York tailors were out, but it was remarked by the New York Journal of Commerce that it should be an easy matter to defeat them, since "women may well do half which the men have been accustomed to do."⁷⁰ We are reminded here of the tactics of the London masters in 1834. In 1835 the question of woman labor was up in three other cities, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Louisville, where the journeymen refused to work for those who employed women. Additional demands were for increased wages, fewer apprentices, and the privilege of using the back shops on Sunday for beer and cards.⁷¹

Of equal interest with the Philadelphia affair was the New York tailors' strike and conspiracy trial in 1836.⁷² It will be recalled that a Tailors' Society had been formed in New York as early as 1806. In October, 1835, the members of the Society struck for higher wages. At this time they were successful and returned to work at increased rates. In the following January, however, they were out again to en-

⁷⁰Sumner, Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9, p. 120.

⁷¹Sumner, Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9, p. 120; Yale Review, V. 1, p. 98, article by Evans Woollen on "Labor Troubles Between 1834 and 1837."

⁷²The Case of Twenty Journeymen Tailors of New York, People v. Faulkner. Doc. Hist., V. 4, pp. 315-333.

force a "turn-list." "No one was to take a job out of his turn, and no one was to have a second job until all had been supplied." Serious trouble grew out of this affair, and the journeymen were indicted for a conspiracy to injure trade and commerce, and for insult and violence to non-unionists. As a result Henry Faulkner, President of the Society, was fined \$150, and Howard Vail, another conspicuous leader, \$100. The other defendants were fined \$50 each. This trial had important political consequences, which were closely connected with the general workingmen's movement at the close of the period 1820-1840.⁷³

1840-1860. A good summary of this period is found in the following extract:

"The period 1840 to 1860 in the American labor movement is clearly differentiated from the earlier period, as well as from the periods which follow it, by the preponderance of a somewhat vague but highly humanitarian spirit. It was preëminently the age of lofty enthusiasms. Ideal conceptions of social order found expression through the Americanization by Brisbane of the French philosophy of Fourier. Mechanical 'phalanxes' took on the form of pleasing pictures of community life through the glowing descriptions of leading writers and speakers of that day. George Ripley, George William Curtis, Charles A. Dana, and Margaret Fuller joined in the delights and in singing the praises of the most famous

⁷³"The trades-union movement reached its climax in 1836. The National Convention of that year shows the beginnings of disintegration in the hopelessness of strikes and the attention given to panaceas and legislation. The turning point came in New York, where the employers formed a counter-organization of all lines of business and made a test on the tailors. Twenty were convicted of conspiracy. The trial was attended by crowds. A mass-meeting of protest was held in the Park. It called a State Convention, and the working men went over to the Equal Rights, or Loco-foco Party, to aid in its attack on banks and chartered monopolies. Tammany lost control of the city, and only Ely Moore, the president of the Trades' Union, whom Tammany had nominated for Congress, saved the remnant. The Trades' Union dwindled and ended where the movement of 1829 began, in politics." (Doc. Hist., V. 5, Int., pp. 36-37).

of these experiments—the fairy-like frolic of Brook Farm. Horace Greeley furnished the most influential vehicle for the popular expression of this reform by fostering it through the columns of the New York Tribune and by much writing and speaking in the name of socialism. It was in 1840, too, that Emerson wrote to Carlyle: 'We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket.' And Hawthorne tells us in his romantic account of the community in which he, too, was personally interested: 'It was a period when science was bringing forward, anew, a hoard of facts and imperfect theories that had partially won credence in earlier times, but which modern science had swept away as rubbish. These things were now tossed up again out of the surging ocean of human thought and experience'."⁷⁴

During this period organizations of tailors did not completely disappear, for in some localities they seem to have acted together with considerable vigor. It is recorded that in September, 1843, nearly all of the journeymen tailors employed in Boston joined in a strike for higher wages. They were out only a day or two, the required advance being in some cases granted, in others refused.⁷⁵ In other cities the tailors were active during the same year. It is stated by John Finch, an English Owenite, who traveled in America in 1843, that the tailors of Cincinnati and Pittsburgh had been involved in brief but successful strikes. He also gives some interesting notes as to their condition.⁷⁶ In 1844 the Phila-

⁷⁴Andrews and Bliss, Sen. Doc. 645, V. 10, p. 53.

⁷⁵Mass. Bureau of Labor, 11th Ann. Report, 1880, p. 5.

⁷⁶"The tailors were out when I was in Pittsburgh, and were parading the streets with a band of music; they were out only one day when the masters yielded, as they had done shortly before in Cincinnati. I conversed with some journeymen tailors on the subject. They say that the vests and trousers are mostly made by women, and the coats by men; that the keepers of retail and ready-made clothes

delphia tailors won an increase in wages after a few days strike.⁷⁷ There is some evidence to show that in this year an attempt was made to form a national organization of tailors. The Workingmen's Advocate of July 27, 1844, (New York), has the following statement: "The Tailors of this city, who are now on a strike for higher wages, walked in procession on Monday through the principal streets, accompanied by two bands of music. It is computed that there were about two thousand in the procession. Many of the Tailors are now looking for a radical remedy for their grievances, as well as to the temporary one of strikes. *Their General Convention takes place on the 25th inst.*, and we trust the measure of the National Reform Association will not escape their notice."⁷⁸ No record, however, is found showing what came of this movement.

During the year 1847 strikes were frequent on account of the high price of provisions. In June of this year the tailors of Philadelphia were again out, demanding an advance in prices. The strike lasted until October, when the men were successful.⁷⁹ In 1849 there was another strike in Boston. At this time it was stated that wages had been reduced 57 per cent during the previous five years, the situation being due largely to the employment of women on many

shops purchase part of their goods from other towns, and get the rest made by persons out of employment, much below the regular rates of wages, and sell at very low prices; consequently regular, good workmen are confined to bespoke articles for first-rate master tailors; hence their employment is very precarious. They are often out of work, and are glad to get employment occasionally, at reduced rates, from ready-made clothes shops, which reduces wages eventually in spite of all they can do to prevent it." (From John Finch, "Notes of Travel in the U. S." Quoted in Doc. Hist., V. 7, pp. 65-66).

The same writer states in another place that tailors in 1843 generally get good wages, but are not usually well employed. Their wages are about 6s. a day. (Doc. Hist., V. 7, p. 48).

⁷⁷U. S. Bureau of Labor, 3rd Ann. Rept., p. 1038.

⁷⁸Doc. Hist., V. 8, p. 221.

⁷⁹U. S. Bureau of Labor, 3rd Ann. Rept., p. 1039.

parts of the work hitherto performed by men.⁸⁰ In the same year the Boston Tailors' Union, discouraged by the difficulty of making gains through strikes, entered upon a scheme for a cooperative merchant tailoring establishment. An association for this purpose was formed with seventy members and a capital of \$700. The enterprise is said to have been a success for several months, but the ultimate outcome is not noted.⁸¹

In 1851 the movement for cooperation had largely declined, and in 1853, forced by a rise in prices and the cost of living, the workingmen began to adopt policies more similar to the present ones.⁸² "The decade of the fifties witnessed the organization of several national trade unions and of an indefinite number of local unions. For example, the cigar makers of Cincinnati are reported to have organized a local in 1843; another was formed in Baltimore in 1851. In succeeding years, additional locals were formed in New York and other cities. In 1850 a national union of printers was organized. None had existed since the ephemeral national organization of the thirties disappeared amid the chaos of the panic of 1837. The National Trade Association of Hat Finishers was organized in 1854. The iron molders and the machinists and blacksmiths formed national unions in 1859, and the ship carpenters and the coal miners in 1861. The period of the fifties had been marked by little labor legislation except of the humanitarian type."⁸³

Of the tailors during this decade we find but little mention. In 1850 the German tailors of New York City formed

⁸⁰Sumner, Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9, p. 121.

⁸¹Doc. Hist., V. 8, pp. 279-285. Quoted from "The Spirit of the Age," Sept. 29, 1849, p. 187.

⁸²Commons, Doc. Hist., V. 7, Int., p. 43.

⁸³Carlton, History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 57.

an organization,⁸⁴ and in 1853 we find an association known as the Tailors' Protective Society, which is probably the same as that organized in 1850, participating with other trades in forming a general Trades' Union for New York City.⁸⁵ There is little doubt that during this period tailors' societies continued to be formed in various localities, although the rise of the ready made industry and the employment of women would tend to handicap their progress.

3. 1860-1887. PERIOD OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

General Tendencies.

We have already seen that there was some tendency toward national organization in the labor movement during the three decades following 1830. This tendency, however, did not become most prominent until 1860. The rapid rise of prices during the Civil War had a strong influence upon trade union activity, while the enormous demands of the government brought about what was virtually a second industrial revolution. Especially prominent was the rise of the iron, petroleum, and textile industries. The effect upon labor was soon manifested. "By 1866 from thirty to forty national and international trade unions and amalgamated societies were in evidence, some of them numbering tens of thousands of men."⁸⁶ City central bodies were also numerous; it is stated by Carlton that there were at least thirty before the close of the year 1865.⁸⁷ To this period belongs also the National Labor Union of 1866, which may be regarded in many ways as the forerunner of the present American Federation of Labor.

⁸⁴Doc. Hist., V. 8, pp. 308-309. Article in N. Y. Daily Tribune, Aug. 21, 1850.

⁸⁵Doc. Hist., V. 8, p. 342. Article in N. Y. Daily Tribune, Sept. 28, 1853.

⁸⁶Adams and Sumner, Labor Problems, p. 219.

⁸⁷History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 58.

Only a few brief references to the tailors are found during the Civil War period. In New York an important Society was organized in 1862, known as the Journeymen Tailors' Protective and Benevolent Union.⁸⁸ Mention of this society is found at several later dates, and it seems to have had a practically continuous existence from that time down to the present date.⁸⁹ The New York tailors in 1860 were principally Germans and Irish, and both nationalities participated in forming the new union,⁹⁰ which appears eventually to have absorbed the earlier German union of 1850. The tailors were also organizing in the middle and far west. In 1863 they were striking in California against extra fancy work on coats,⁹¹ and in 1864 a Tailors' Society in St. Louis was protesting against the employment of women.⁹² With this widespread extension of activity, it is not surprising to find the tailors yielding shortly to the spirit for national organization.

*First National Union of Tailors, 1865.*⁹³

The various isolated unions in the tailoring trade, real-

⁸⁸In the report of the New York Union to the 1885 Convention of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union of the United States, appears the following quotation: "The Journeymen Tailors' Protective and Benevolent Union of New York will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of this union in 1887." (Constitution and By-Laws, also Proceedings, of the 3rd Annual Convention, p. 9). This is our authority for setting the date of this union at 1862.

⁸⁹The secretary of the present union in New York states that their union was organized in 1866.

⁹⁰TAILOR, Oct., 1906, p. 14; editorial on "Frederick Werner."

⁹¹U. S. Bureau of Labor, 3rd Annual Rept., p. 1047.

⁹²Sumner, Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9, p. 121.

⁹³The material dealing with the history of the tailors from 1865 to 1885 has been derived mainly from a sketch embodied by Mr. Frederick Werner in his report as Treasurer to the 1893 Convention of the J. T. U. of A. (Tailor, Aug., 1893, p. 3). Mr. Werner was a prominent German tailor of New York City, was instrumental in forming the New York union of 1862, and was one of the leaders throughout the history of the subsequent national movement. A few supplementary facts have been added by Mr. John B. Lennon, who was an officer and delegate at every tailors' convention after 1883. Other references are as cited.

izing the weakness that lies in separation, entered upon a movement for national federation, and in August, 1865, a Convention was held in Philadelphia, at which the following cities were represented: New York, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Washington, D. C.; Worcester, Massachusetts; Troy, New York; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Louisville, Kentucky. The organization formed at this Convention was entitled "The Journeymen Tailors' National Trades Union." It is implied in the account which we follow that subsequent yearly conventions were held regularly. "Strong efforts were made to organize local unions, not only in cities, but in small towns, but not with the success expected. However, the large cities followed our banner."⁹⁴ There is some evidence that in 1871 a reorganization was necessary, as the Report of the Industrial Commission states that a national union of tailors was formed at that date, evidently overlooking the earlier organization.⁹⁵ The first union must have lasted at least until 1867, as in that year they were represented at the Chicago Congress of the National Labor Union.⁹⁶ There were also tailors' delegates at the 1868 and 1869 Congresses, but these were from the local unions in New York and Brooklyn, and did not represent the National.⁹⁷

In February, 1875, there was a tailors' strike in Boston, for the object of improving the scale of prices, but the strike failed to accomplish anything for the workmen, others being engaged in their places.⁹⁸

⁹⁴Report of Frederick Werner, 1893.

⁹⁵Report of the Industrial Commission, V. 17, p. 64.

⁹⁶Seven successive annual conventions or Congresses of the National Labor Union were held, beginning in 1866 and ending in 1872. For reference to tailors' delegates at the Chicago Congress, see Doc. Hist., V. 9, p. 170.

⁹⁷1868 Congress, Doc. Hist., V. 9, p. 196. 1869 Congress, *ibid.*, p. 229.

⁹⁸Mass. Bureau of Labor, 11th Ann. Rept., 1880, p. 39.

Whatever may have been the vicissitudes of the Tailors' National Union, it was certainly in existence in 1875, for we have the definite record of its Convention in St. Louis in August of this year.⁹⁹ Of thirty-nine local unions affiliated with the National, twenty-three were represented, with thirty delegates. The Treasurer's books showed a balance of \$2,924.23, but to the great chagrin of the delegates the Treasurer himself failed to appear; in fact, in the language of Mr. Werner, "Treasurer and money were never seen again." It was necessary to borrow money from the New York and St. Louis Locals, largely on the guarantee of Mr. Werner himself, in order that the delegates might return to their homes.

The embezzlement of the funds was a severe blow to the Union; at the same time they managed to weather the storm for another year, and at the Convention of 1876 the new Treasurer reported all debts paid and a balance on hand of \$169.64. Of thirty-seven local unions, thirteen were represented, with fifteen delegates. Officers were elected, and Chicago fixed upon for the next Convention. This meeting, however, never took place, as the National Union broke up during the following year, due no doubt to the previous financial trouble.

A period now ensued of about seven years, including a part of 1883, during which there was no national union in the tailoring trade. The locals, however, continued their activity. In 1879 there was a strike in one shop in Boston, which resulted after about three months in the defeat of the men.¹⁰⁰ Beginning with 1881 we have an account of strikes by the United States Commissioner of Labor, which, although it cannot be regarded as exhaustive, throws consid-

⁹⁹Report of Frederick Werner, 1893. Since writing the above evidence has reached the writer that regular conventions were also held in 1873 and 1874.

¹⁰⁰Mass. Bureau of Labor, 11th Ann. Rept., 1880, p. 52.

erable light upon what was going on in the tailoring trade.¹⁰¹ The following table shows strikes reported in this trade from 1881 to 1883:

STRIKES IN THE TAILORING TRADE, 1881-1883.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Number involved.</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Result</i>
Mch. 21, 1881	Cincinnati	25	For increase.	Comprom'ed
Mch. 27, 1881	Pittsburgh	121	For increase.	Won.
Apr. 16, 1881	New York	110	For increase.	Won.
Oct. 19, 1881	Dubuque	66	For increase.	Comprom'ed.
Aug. 12, 1882	Wash., D. C.	3	For union scale.	Won.
Mch. 12, 1883	Denver	15	Against reduction	Lost.
Mch. 17, 1883	Des Moines	92	For increase.	Won.
Mch. 20, 1883	Freeport, Ill.	41	For increase	Won.
Apr. 1, 1883,	Philadelphia	10	For increase	Lost.
Apr. 24, 1883	Boston	12	Against reduction	Lost.

It is reported by the Commissioner of Labor that all the above strikes were called by labor organizations. The table is therefore of especial value as indicating the presence of local unions in certain cities not hitherto noted.

Before taking up the history of the present National Union, it is considered of interest to introduce the following table, showing all local unions existing prior to the National Convention of 1883, so far as it has been possible to trace them. A city is not listed unless there is definite evidence of a tailors' society. The mere fact of a strike is not taken as *prima facie* evidence of organization.¹⁰² The dates given are the earliest dates furnished by our references at which

¹⁰¹U. S. Bureau of Labor, 3rd Ann. Rept., 1887, on "Strikes and Lockouts, 1881-1886."

¹⁰²It is certain that the list is incomplete. Additional information would be appreciated by the writer and publishers, in case such information is in the possession of any of the readers.

unions existed in the cities in question. It is probable that in several instances the unions existed earlier than the dates named. Not all unions in the list were in existence *immediately* prior to 1883, some having been organized and disbanded again before that date.

LIST OF LOCAL UNIONS EXISTING PRIOR TO THE NATIONAL
CONVENTION OF AUGUST, 1883.

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Authority.</i>
Baltimore, Md.	1795	McMaster, V. 3, p. 511.
Philadelphia, Pa	1806	Colo. Bur. of Labor, 1st Bien- nial Report, p. 336.
New York, N. Y.	1806	Carlton, p. 17.
Boston, Mass.	1806	Tailor, Nov., 1906, p. 17.
Buffalo, N. Y.	1824	Doc. Hist., V. 4, pp. 93-95.
Troy, N. Y.	1829	Officers present union.
Cincinnati, Ohio	1843	Doc. Hist., V. 8, p. 220.
Pittsburgh, Pa.	1843	Doc. Hist., V. 7, pp. 65-66.
Dubuque, Iowa	1859	Officers present union.
Chicago, Ill.	1860	Officers present union.
St. Louis, Mo.	1864	Sen. Doc. 645, V. 9, p. 121.
Washington, D. C.	1865	Report of Frederick Werner, 1893, In Tailor, Aug., 1893, p. 3.
Worcester, Mass.	1865	Tailor, Aug., 1893, p. 3.
Louisville, Ky.	1865	Tailor, Aug., 1893, p. 3.
Brooklyn, N. Y.	1869	Doc. Hist., V. 9, p. 229.
Denver, Colo.	1870	Charter members.
Bloomington, Ill.	1873	
Atlanta, Ga.	1873	MS, Charter
Bridgeport, Conn.	1873	Officers present union.
Hartford, Conn.	1873	Proceedings 1873 Convention.
New Haven, Conn.	1873	" " "
		" " "

<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>
Binghamton, N. Y.	1873	Proceedings 1873 Convention.
Elmira, N. Y.	1873	" " "
Syracuse, N. Y.	1873	" " "
Saratoga, N. Y.	1873	" " "
Nashville, Tenn.	1873	" " "
Memphis, Tenn.	1873	" " "
Norfolk, Va.	1873	" " "
Richmond, Va.	1873	Proceedings 1874 Convention.
Meadville, Pa.	1873	Proceedings 1873 Convention.
Harrisburg, Pa.	1873	" " "
Springfield, Ill.	1873	" " "
Savannah, Ga.	1873	" " "
Monmouth, Ill.	1873	" " "
Terre Haute, Ind.	1873	" " "
Leavenworth, Kan.	1873	Proceedings 1874 Convention.
Williamsport, Pa.	1874	Proceedings 1874 Convention.
San Francisco, Cal.	1875	Officers present union.
Kansas City, Mo.	1875	" " "
Burlington, Ia.	1875	Proceedings 1875 Convention.
Council Bluffs, Ia.	1875	" " "
Minneapolis, Minn.	1875	" " "
Omaha, Neb.	1875	" " "
St. Paul, Minn.	1875	" " "
Utica, N. Y.	1875	" " "
Indianapolis, Ind.	1876	Proceedings 1876 "
Rochester, N. Y.	1876	" " "
St. Catherine's Ont.	1878	Officers present union.
Champaign-Urb'a, Ill.	1881	" " "
Portage, Wis.	1882	" " "
Winnipeg, Man.	1882	" " "
Freeport, Ill. March	1883	U. S. Bur. of Labor, 3rd Ann. Report, p. 120.
Des Moines, Ia. March	1883	Ibid., p. 188.

Second National Union of Tailors, 1883.

In June, 1883, the Philadelphia union issued a call for a convention, to meet in that city on the second Monday in August, 1883. Five local unions responded, Philadelphia, New York, Troy, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh. Officers were elected and constitution and by-laws adopted.¹⁰³ The new organization was entitled "The Journeymen Tailors' National Union of the United States."¹⁰⁴ John Mustadt of New York was chosen President; Charles Sharpe of Philadelphia, Secretary; and Barny O'Donnell, of Philadelphia, Treasurer.

Convention of 1884.

During the year following the 1883 convention, strikes are reported by the United States Commissioner of Labor in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Francisco, and in all of these cities the journeymen obtained some advantages.¹⁰⁵ During the year sixteen locals were granted charters.¹⁰⁶ When the second convention met in Chicago, August 11, 1884, eleven of these unions were represented, with fifteen delegates. "The Executive Board was authorized to issue an appeal to all tailors of the United States to organize, also to all the Locals which belonged to the former union to join the ranks again."¹⁰⁷ The officers elected for the ensu-

¹⁰³Copy of this constitution has not as yet been secured.

¹⁰⁴This union has existed continuously from 1883 until the present date. In 1889 the name was changed to read, "Journeymen Tailors' Union of America," and since that date there has been no change in the title.

¹⁰⁵U. S. Bureau of Labor, 3rd Ann. Rept. See table for full list of strikes, 1884-1886.

¹⁰⁶By consulting the Proceedings of the 1884 Convention, we have been enabled to ascertain the names of these unions, as follows; New York, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; New Haven, Connecticut; Baltimore, Maryland; Worcester, Massachusetts; Chicago, Illinois; Peoria, Illinois; Champaign, Illinois; Springfield, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; Kansas City, Missouri; Denver, Colorado; Cheyenne, Wyoming; Pittsburg, Pa.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Washington, D. C.

¹⁰⁷Report of Frederick Werner, 1893.

ing year were: President, John B. Lennon; Secretary, Joseph Wilkenson; Treasurer, Frederick Werner.

STRIKES IN THE TAILORING TRADE, 1884-1886.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Number Involved</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Result</i>
<i>1884.</i>				
Mch. 18	New York, N. Y.	39	For increase.	Won.
Apr. 5	Philadelphia, Pa.	18	Against reduction.	Won.
Apr. 15	St. Louis, Mo.	17	For increase.	Won.
May 6	New York, N. Y.	76	Against reduction.	Compr.
May 29	San Francisco, Cal.	13	Against additional helpers.	Won.
<i>1885.</i>				
Feb. 15	Louisville, Ky.	10	Against reduction..	Lost.
Mch. 27	Atlanta, Ga.	9	Against convict labor.	Won
Apr. 1	New York, N. Y.	33	Against reduction.	Won.
Apr. 1	Des Moines, Iowa.	91	Readjustment of scale.	Won.
Apr. 2	Philadelphia, Pa.	24	Sympathetic strike.	Lost.
July 6	Washington, D. C.	13	Against 3 non- unionists.	Lost.
Aug. 18	Leavenworth, Kas.	69	For increase.	Won.
Oct. 8	Champaign- Urbana, Ill.	20	Against "extras."	Won.
Oct. 8	Butte, Mont.	8	For increase.	Lost.
Dec. 31	Baltimore, Md.	22	For increase.	Lost.
<i>1886.</i>				
Mch. 16	Danville, Va.	30	Pay for overtime.	Compr.
Mch. 20	Boston, Mass.	600	For increase.	Lost.
Apr. 1	Chicago, Ill.	55	For increase.	Won.
Apr. 6	Springfield, Ill.	47	Against "extras."	Lost.
Apr. 14	Duluth, Minn.	19	For increase.	Lost.
Apr. 19	Milwaukee, Wis.	315	For increase.	Compr.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Number Involved</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Result</i>
May 19	Pittsburgh, Pa.	403	For increase.	Lost.
Sept. 20	Chicago, Ill.	25	For increase.	Won.
Sept. 25	Ithaca, N. Y.	18	For increase.	Compr.
Nov. 20	Grand Rapids, Mich.	7	For increase.	Lost.

NOTES.

1. Information in this table is taken from the 3rd Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Labor. Only one change has been made in the data as there reported. The Commissioner of Labor reported the Boston, 1886, strike as won, but we find from the Tailors' Journal that this was a mistake, and that the strike was in reality lost. Tailor, November, 1906, pp. 17-18. We have made the change accordingly.

2. This table is continuous with that given in the text of Chapter 3, showing strikes from 1881 to 1883. The list was divided so as to show strikes before and after the National Union of 1883 was organized.

3. The Commissioner reports that all these strikes were called by labor organizations except Duluth and Ithaca, both 1886.

4. The date given in each case is the date of the beginning of the strike.

5. Strikes which succeeded partially, are marked "Compr." for "Compromised."

*Convention of 1885.*¹⁰⁸

This convention met in Baltimore, August 10, 1885. Twenty-three unions were reported as being in good standing, with an aggregate membership of 2481. Five of these locals were represented at the convention, as follows: Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, and Denver. New York sent three delegates, and the others one each, making a total of seven.

The President reported that the year just passed had been a severe strain upon the National, in view of the serious depression in the trade. He stated, however, that there had been a gain in strength. It was suggested that in view of

¹⁰⁸The account of this convention is taken from the "Constitution and By-Laws, also Proceedings, of the 3rd Annual Convention of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union of the United States." (N. Y., 1885). This constitution and by-laws is found in the appendix to this chapter. Table of local unions, 1885, is given herewith.

the small number of delegates, great care would be required in order to legislate in a manner satisfactory to the locals not represented. The Secretary complained likewise of industrial conditions, stating that organization had been difficult, and that it had been found necessary to resist threatened reductions in wages. Strikes for this purpose had taken place in Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia, and while they had not been completely successful, a general reduction had been prevented in these cities. The Secretary took occasion to commend the "uniform, prompt and generous manner" in which the local unions had responded to appeals for help from the "strike cities." This is significant as indicating that the National Union had already developed a considerable spirit of solidarity. With reference to organizing work, the Secretary reported that seven local unions had joined since the previous convention, and six more with whom he had been in correspondence indicated their intention of joining. Circular matter for local unions had been sent out through a periodical known as "Swinton's Magazine," which had been adopted as the official organ of the National Union.

LIST OF LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL.

AUGUST, 1885.

<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Membership.</i>
New York, N. Y.	1260
Chicago, Ill.	300
Philadelphia, Pa. (United)	116
Baltimore, Md.	102
St. Louis, Mo.	80
Denver, Colo.	72
Philadelphia, Pa. (English)	64
Philadelphia, Pa. (German)	58
Peoria, Ill.	54

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Brooklyn, N. Y.	42
Kansas City, Mo.	40
New Haven, Conn.	40
Worcester, Mass.	35
Bloomington, Ill.	35
Springfield, Ill.	30
Meadville, Pa.	25
Milwaukee, Wis.	25
Sedalia, Mo.	20
Janesville, Wis.	19
Leavenworth, Kas.	19
Rock Island-Davenport.	18
Cheyenne, Wyo.	14
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	13
Total	2481

NOTE: The above list is taken from the Proceedings of the 1885 Convention, and represents the unions which were reported to that Convention as being in good standing.

In the matter of strikes, the officers, as well as several unions who reported by letter instead of by delegates, agreed that strong efforts must be made to settle controversies without strike, and to avoid strikes during the dull seasons, especially January, February, July and August. This recommendation was eventually embodied in a new by-law.¹⁰⁹ Unions in Urbana, Illinois, and Kansas City, Missouri, had been refused support in demanding an advance, the unions being advised that the efforts of the National must for the time being be confined to resisting reductions. Two other unions, Chicago and Denver, had been obliged to accept slight reductions, this policy appearing better than a strike, in view of the business depression. Actual strikes in cities affiliated

¹⁰⁹By-laws of 1885, Art. 13. See appendix.

with the National had taken place in Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, and Kansas City, and there had been a lockout of twenty men in Denver. In addition, strikes were reported from the following cities containing local unions not yet affiliated: San Francisco, Boston, Atlanta, Nashville, Des Moines, Louisville, and Washington, D. C.¹¹⁰ As a rule the national secretary had written these unions, inviting them to join, but they had not as yet taken action. Similar correspondence had been held with Providence, Rhode Island, Warren, Pennsylvania, New Orleans, Louisiana, Council Bluffs, Iowa, Ottawa, Kansas, and Los Angeles, California. In each of these cities unions existed, which it was hoped to bring into the National; in fact, two of them—New Orleans and Warren—became members between the adjournment of the convention and the publication of the Proceedings.

During the preceding term the strike benefit had been \$6.00 a week; this the 1885 convention reduced to \$4.00, fearing a depletion of the funds. It was reported that during the year since the 1884 convention strike benefit had been paid to the sum of \$2,924.45, and claims allowed while the convention was in session brought the sum total up to \$3,286.45. The seriousness of this expense will be realized when it is noted that the entire income of the union for the term was only \$3,604.14. In fact, at the close of the convention, after allowing for the expenses of the delegates, there was a balance of only \$37.45 in the Treasurer's hands.¹¹¹

A matter of some interest in connection with this conven-

¹¹⁰See table for strikes in 1885, as reported by U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

¹¹¹The balance sheet at the close of the Convention, August 15, 1885, was as follows:

Income, Aug. 15, 1884 to Aug. 15, 1885.....	\$3,604.14
Expense, Aug. 15, 1884 to Aug. 15, 1885.....	3,566.69
Balance in hands of Treasurer, Aug. 15, 1885.....	\$ 37.45
From report of the Treasurer, 1885 Proceedings.	

tion is the fact that there was in existence at the same time a dual organization known as the "Tailors' Progressive Union of America." This organization sent a letter to the Secretary of the Tailors' National Union, seeking support for an eight-hour movement, and criticizing the methods of the New York union of the Tailors' National. The Convention directed the Secretary to reply that the Convention could not interfere between local unions in any city, but that the branch of the "Progressives" in New York would be permitted to affiliate with the National if they liked. This Progressive Union seems to have been a socialistic organization, which at no time had a large membership, and it is probable that it was gradually absorbed by the larger society, although we find it referred to as late as 1889.¹¹²

The Convention of 1885 concluded its work with a series of interesting resolutions,¹¹³ including a decision to make the

¹¹²In the report of the Tailors' delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention of 1887, Tailor, Jan., 1888, p. 5, appears the following:

"I appeared before the Committee on Credentials to inquire into the nature of the Progressive Tailors' Union.....The Progressive Tailors' Union, so far as I have been able to learn about it, is a poor struggling union with very good objects, but wholly impracticable methods. They have but a few local unions, and have not a scale of prices established in any of them. They are composed mostly of tailors working at ready made clothing. It is my opinion that such of them as work on custom made garments ought to join our national union, and that we in return should give them every encouragement and support to organize the manufacturing tailors." It should be noted that the United Garment Workers' Union was not organized until 1891, and previous to that date it was a serious problem with the custom tailors as to what should be done with the ready-made workers, or "shop tailors," as they were then called. (See Sen. Doc. 645, V. 10, p. 160; also Tailor, Sept., 1889, p. 1, Report of the General Secretary to the Columbus Convention). It appears that the "Progressive Union" was represented at the Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1889, as well as in 1887. At the 1887 convention, as suggested by the above extract, the credentials of its delegates were disputed, but the delegates were finally seated. (Proceedings of A. F. of L. Convention, 1887, p. 8). In 1888 the Progressive Union was listed as one of the National Unions of the American Federation, although it had no delegate at this convention. (Proceedings, 1888, pp. 34-36). This union was granted permission to use its label on ready-made clothing, but not on custom-made. (Proceedings, 1887, p. 28). In 1889 the Progressive Union claimed to have eleven branches. (Proceedings, 1889, p. 8).

convention biennial instead of annual, and elected the following officers for the ensuing term:

President, Charles H. Sharpe, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

First Vice-President, Frederick Jensen, New York, New York.

Second Vice-President, Henry Becker, Baltimore, Maryland.

Third Vice-President, John B. Lennon, Denver, Colorado.

Fourth Vice-President, James W. Smith, Springfield, Illinois.¹¹⁴

Secretary, Joseph Wilkenson, New York, New York.

Treasurer, Frederick Werner, New York, New York.

Auditors, John Casey, William Brodil.

The Tailors and the Knights of Labor.

In accord with the resolutions of 1885, there was no annual convention of the Tailors' National Union in 1886, the next meeting being set for 1887. Before, however, taking up the 1887 convention, it is our desire to discuss briefly the relation of the tailors to the Knights of Labor. It will be recalled that this organization started with an organization of garment cutters in Philadelphia in 1869. By 1886 it had reached its height, and shortly after began to decline, as a result largely of the rise of craft unionism and of the American Federation of Labor.

It is not possible to ascertain from the Proceedings of the Knights whether or not any of the delegates to their conventions were of the tailoring trade, inasmuch as all delegates are designated according to "local assemblies," most of which were mixed. In some issues, however, of the Journal of

¹¹³See Appendix to this chapter.

¹¹⁴This member was of considerable prominence in the labor movement. In 1884 he represented the National Tailors' Union at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in 1886, while serving in a similar capacity, was elected President of the Convention. (Proceedings of the Conventions of the A. F. of L., 1884 and 1886).

United Labor, the official organ of the Knights, are found monthly summaries of newly organized assemblies, and here we have found mention of several assemblies of tailors, though not as many as of other crafts.¹¹⁵

It seems probable that where tailors were members of the Knights of Labor they were usually connected as individuals with mixed assemblies, and that the local tailors' societies were affiliating with their own national union, at least after 1883. In one or two cases, however, considerable controversy arose over the matter; thus we find that in 1885 the Cincinnati union of tailors had disbanded and gone over to the Knights,¹¹⁶ and in 1887 an officer of the National gave as a reason for his resignation the fact that there was a discord in his local union over this subject.¹¹⁷

Strikes in the Tailoring Trade, August, 1885, to August, 1887.

During this term there were a number of tailors' strikes.¹¹⁸ Apparently the most serious were those in Boston and Pitts-

¹¹⁵In running through a broken file of the Journal of United Labor, containing thirty-eight of the eighty-four numbers between March, 1884, and May, 1887, we find mention of the following tailors' assemblies being organized:

<i>Data</i>	<i>Assembly Number.</i>	<i>Locality.</i>
May, 1885	3859	Albany, New York
June, 1885	3974	Cleveland, Ohio
June, 1885	3980	Springfield, Ohio
Jan., 1886	4868	Lynn, Massachusetts
Feb., 1886	5274	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Feb., 1886	5346	Newark, New Jersey
Feb., 1886	5672	Newark, New Jersey
Mch., 1886	5892	Boston, Massachusetts

The monthly summaries are discontinued early in 1887. There is no positive assurance that all of the above assemblies were composed of *custom* tailors; in the Journal they are listed as "tailors" or "tailors' employees;" some garment workers may have been included.

¹¹⁶Proceedings of the National Tailors' Union, 1885, p. 7.

¹¹⁷Proceedings of the 1887 Convention, Tailor, Oct., 1887.

¹¹⁸See table already given for full list of strikes from 1884 to 1886, as reported by the U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

burgh in 1886, involving respectively 600 and 403 members. 1886 seems to have been a bad year for strikes; of ten reported by the United States Commissioner, five were lost, including the two above mentioned, and only two were entirely successful. A continuation of the depression complained of in 1885 was probably responsible for some of these difficulties.¹¹⁹ With the exception of these strikes we have little record of the tailors until their next convention.

Convention of 1887.

This convention was in many ways more important than any that had previously taken place. The Proceedings will therefore be examined in some detail.¹²⁰

The convention opened in New York City, August 8, 1887. It was reported that there were twenty-seven unions in good standing, with an aggregate membership of 2512.¹²¹ Of these unions thirteen were represented, with fifteen delegates. The unions represented were: New York, Brooklyn, Troy and Poughkeepsie, New York; Worcester and Springfield, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; New Haven and Danbury, Connecticut; Baltimore, Maryland; Columbus, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri, and Denver, Colorado.

¹¹⁹An interesting account of the Boston strike is found in the *Tailor*, Nov., 1906, pp. 16-17. The article is by Thomas Sweeney, a well-known organizer of the Tailors' Union:

"The most eventful thing in connection with the life of the union in Boston is a strike in 1886. When that strike took place the Boston union was well organized; they had between six and seven hundred members and had a good treasury. Believing themselves masters of the situation, they decided to present a uniform bill to all firms in the city. The Executive Board and a Committee having the bill in charge reported against presenting such a bill, but the union voted down the report and went ahead with the bill. Up to that time there was no union of employers. They soon organized one and resisted the demand of the union. In addition to the uniformity looked for by the union, they raised the price ten per cent." The writer states further that after dragging along for several months the strike was finally lost, and the men returned to work, leaving the union considerably weakened.

¹²⁰See *Tailor*, Oct., 1887.

¹²¹A full list of these unions, with the membership of each, is given on p. 70.

LIST OF LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL,
AUGUST, 1887.

<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Membership.</i>
New York, N. Y.	1240
Boston, Mass.	145
Baltimore, Md.	123
Troy, N. Y.	113
Columbus, Ohio.	90
Providence, R. I.	80
St. Louis, Mo.	80
Denver, Colo.	80
Grand Rapids, Mich.	55
Peoria, Ill.	55
Wichita, Kas.	50
Des Moines, Iowa.	41
Brooklyn, N. Y.	40
Worcester, Mass.	37
Springfield, Mass.	33
Bloomington, Ill.	33
Danbury, Conn.	32
Butte City, Mont.	30
Leadville, Colo.	25
Emporia, Kas.	23
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	23
South Bend, Ind.	21
Springfield, Ill.	20
Warren, Pa.	15
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	12
Sedalia, Mo.	9
Leavenworth, Kas.	7
Total, 27 unions	2512

NOTE: The above list is taken from the report of the Finance Committee of the 1887 Convention, Tailor, Oct., 1887, p. 3. This report indicated *all* local unions paying dues during the term 1885-1887,

and in making the above list it was necessary to eliminate those locals that had lapsed before 1887. The membership given above is probably the largest membership reported during the term, and may be a little too large for 1887; it is, however, the only list obtainable. It should be stated that when the new secretary took charge in 1887, several of these unions had fallen behind with their dues, and were not technically in benefit.

Frederick Jensen was made chairman of the convention. In his opening speech he called attention to the fact that strikes were failures and expensive, and intimated that the money of the organization would better be used for organizing purposes. He also recommended that an official Journal be established.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, was present as a visitor, and spoke on "Trade Unionism." Following Mr. Gompers, Mr. Charles H. Sharpe, retiring President of the Tailors' Union, tendered his resignation, stating as a reason that there was discord in his local union of Philadelphia over the question of affiliating with the Knights of Labor.

The Secretary, Joseph Wilkenson, reported that wages had been slightly increased since the last convention, but that systematic organization was necessary. He favored the appointment of a secretary on full time, and recommended that the Executive Board be empowered to appoint an organizer from time to time as needed. Like Mr. Jensen, he believed that an official Journal should be started as soon as possible. With reference to strikes, he spoke in part as follows:

"The proper regulation of strikes is a question that has always perplexed and bothered all labor organizations. Judging by the past, I can see no way by which they can be entirely avoided. The great thing is to know when and how to strike or to leave it alone. In my opinion a strike should never be ordered, no matter what the cause may be, when defeat is sure, as, for instance, when a considerable portion of

the men working are not in the union." This utterance is significant as expressing in a few words the policy which has been followed throughout the subsequent history of the union.

A report was heard from the delegate of the Tailors' Union to the convention of the "American Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada," which had just reorganized under the name of the "American Federation of Labor." The delegate bore an invitation to the Tailors to join the reorganized body, and this invitation was later accepted by the convention.

The Treasurer's report indicated a favorable showing, as follows:

Total receipts, Aug. 15, 1885, to Aug. 10, 1887...	\$5,698.99
Total expense, Aug. 15, 1885 to Aug. 10 1887.....	2,075.90
	<hr/>
Balance in general fund, Aug. 10, 1887.....	\$3,623.09

This represented a gain in the fund of \$3,585.64 since the previous convention.

The Committee on Constitution brought in a set of revised laws, which were adopted without amendment by the convention. Some of the changes made in the old Constitution were of minor consequence; there were, however, other changes of the highest importance. (1) A secretary was appointed on full time at a salary of \$1,000 a year for the ensuing term. (2) The secretary was appointed chief organizer, to direct extension work under the authority of the Executive Board. (3) An official Journal was established, called *THE TAILOR*, to be published monthly and mailed free to every member.¹²² (4) The principle of the referendum

was extended so that any local union could secure an expression of opinion prior to the convention from the whole membership upon a proposed amendment, such opinion to be binding on the convention. According to the previous constitution propositions must be seconded by seven unions before they could be submitted.¹²³ (5) Provision was made for one-half the mileage of convention delegates to be paid by the National Union. This expense had formerly been met entirely by the local unions.

The resolutions of 1885 were practically re-affirmed, and in addition the following important resolutions adopted:¹²⁴

8. RESOLVED: That we recommend to the members of the local unions composing this body, when purchasing goods of any description, goods made by union men, particularly such as bear the labels of national or international trade organizations.

9. RESOLVED: We believe it to be for the interest of our trade, and do therefore recommend, all local unions to establish employment bureaus as soon as possible.

10. RESOLVED: That all local unions are hereby most earnestly urged to observe in connection with other labor organizations the first Monday of September in each year as a National Labor Holiday.

11. RESOLVED: That all local organizations of tailors should affiliate with their own National Union in preference to any other body.

¹²²As originally passed by the Convention, each member was to pay five cents a month for the paper, but within a couple of months after the adjournment of the Convention the General Executive Board, finding funds sufficient, took the responsibility of furnishing the Journal free of charge, and this has been the practice ever since.

¹²³Resolutions of 1885, No. 10. See Appendix for full text of these resolutions.

¹²⁴Constitution of 1887, pp. 20-21.

12. RESOLVED: That what is known as the sweating system is very injurious to our trade, and we therefore call upon all local unions to give the matter careful consideration, and try and devise means to stop it.

13. RESOLVED: That we do hereby submit to the local unions for careful consideration during the next two years the following propositions, believing that their adoption will result in much good:

First.—To establish throughout all unions a uniform system of benefits.

Second.—To equalize the funds, dues and initiation fees of all local unions.

Third.—To pay in full the expenses of delegates to the conventions.

14. RESOLVED: That all local unions are hereby urged to thoroughly discuss the above propositions and instruct their delegates to the next convention in regard to them.

It is not too much to say that the convention of 1887 marks the beginning of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America as a permanent business institution. This is especially true in view of the fact that the chief officers elected by this convention held their positions for many years following. Mr. Frederick Werner, who was re-elected Treasurer, held his office until July, 1906, only eighteen months before his death; and Mr. John B. Lennon, who was now elected Secretary for the first time, served continuously for twenty-three years.¹²⁵

Concluding Note.

It has been decided not to carry this chronological sketch beyond the year 1887, in view of the fact that the files of the

¹²⁵Mr. Lennon served from August, 1887, to July 1, 1910, when he was succeeded by Mr. Eugene J. Brais. A brief biographical sketch of both of these officers will be found in the Appendix.

official Journal begin with that date,¹²⁶ thus affording an opportunity for more detailed studies.¹²⁷ It may, however, be remarked here that no essential change of *principle* has taken place in the organization since its foundation. The membership has risen, fallen, risen and fallen again, under the influence of industrial conditions and the internal evolution of the trade. Important crises have been passed; serious battles won and lost; policies have been initiated, improved, and made a part of the movement, but the fundamental purpose, as stated today, is not different from that when the union was founded, namely: "To rescue our trade from the condition to which it has fallen and by all honest and just means to elevate the moral, social, and intellectual condition of our members."¹²⁸

¹²⁶The opening number of *The Tailor* is dated October, 1887.

¹²⁷The first of these studies, a statistical investigation, will be found in the following chapter.

¹²⁸Constitution, 1910, p. 5.

APPENDICES

CHAPTER THREE

APPENDIX A.

OUTLINE OF TAILORS' UNIONS IN ENGLAND, 1721-1834.

Note. The material for the following outline is taken from Galton, *The Tailoring Trade*.

1721. Tailors' combinations and strikes in London. Act passed to regulate tailors.

1725-29. A poem appears annually in Dublin, inscribed to the "Ancient and Loyal Society of Journeymen Tailors" of that city.

1730. Anti-combination act passed by Irish Parliament; trade clubs subside.

1744-45. Widespread disturbances in London, involving 15,000 journeymen tailors. The Privy Council directs the Justices of the Peace to enforce the Act of 1721. Licenses of five taverns revoked for harboring tailors' combinations.

1748. Strike in Edinburgh. 21 tailors are indicted and their combination broken up.

1751, July. Tailors of London secure raise of about 6 d. per day from the Court of Quarter-Sessions.

1751, September. Journeymen again become restless and demand advance. A reduction of one hour a day from working time is secured from the City Sessions of London.

1752. Master-tailors send petition to the House of Commons setting forth grievances. Journeymen present counter-petition. After some argument the whole matter is dropped.

1753. Quarter-Sessions of London grant a 12-hour day.

1763. Another slight increase in wages is granted.

1763-67. Period of constant dissensions in the trade.

1767. A humorous play is produced at the Theater

Royal in the Haymarket, entitled, "The Tailors; a Tragedy for Warm Weather."

1768. Laws regulating tailors are again revised by Parliament, largely in the interest of the masters. Journeymen enter a protest. Laws are evaded by both masters and journeymen, so far as the maximum wage is concerned.

1768. Strike in Aberdeen, Scotland.

1729-72. Ireland. Little complaint or legislation in Ireland during this period with regard to combinations.

1772. Ireland. Dublin's Trades' Clubs reviving. A special bill is passed by the Irish Parliament to regulate Journeymen Tailors. Wages and hours are established, and combinations forbidden.

1772. London tailors secure raise of from 6d. to 1s. a day from the City Sessions.

1777. Birmingham tailors strike against piece-work system.

1778. A part of the master-tailors of London complain of the flat-rate system for all journeymen. Bills are brought into Parliament to change this feature. Another section of the masters oppose the bills. The House is bewildered and makes no change.

1783. Seven tailors of Liverpool are prosecuted for combination.

1797. Tailors of Aberdeen again on strike. Twelve are convicted of illegal combination and sentenced to fines and imprisonment.

1799-1800. General Combination Acts passed, affecting all trades.¹²⁹

1800. Master Tailors again present petition of com-

¹²⁹Webb, p. 63. Beginning with this date the tailors' history is taken largely from the documents collected by Francis Place, who began life as a journeymen leather-breeches maker, becoming later a master tailor. This man was a leader in the movement for the repeal of the Combination Acts. (Webb, History of Trade Unionism, p. 85).

plaints. Journeymen are striking for a raise from 25s. to 30s. a week. Court of Quarter-Sessions grants 27s.¹³⁰

1805. Revival of the farce, "The Tailors; a Tragedy for Warm Weather," causes a riot in London.¹³¹

1807. Strike in London for 30s. a week. Victory for the men.

1810-11. Strong association of employing tailors formed in London. Plans are made to fight the union. A new bill is presented by the masters to Parliament. The employers are divided and the bill is dropped.

1811. Further complaints and demands of employers to Parliament are ineffective, due largely to influence of Francis Place.

1812. Printed rules of a London Tailors' Club of this date are preserved.¹³²

¹³⁰Double wages, or 54 s., were to be paid in case of a "general mourning."

¹³¹An interesting account of this affair has been found in the Tailor, May, 1907, p. 17, entitled, "The Tailors in Riot," being reprinted from an article in The American Tailor and Cutter:

"In 1769 Foote had produced a burlesque, the author of which has never been discovered, entitled "The Tailors; a Tragedy for Warm Weather." Dowton announced the revival of this piece for his benefit. As the title implies, it is a satire upon the sartorial craft, and upon the bills being issued an indignation meeting was convened by the knights of the needle, who vowed to oppose the performance by might and main.

"Menacing letters were sent to Dowton telling him that 17,000 tailors would attend to his piece, and one, who signed himself 'Death,' added that 10,000 men could be found if necessary. The threats were laughed at by the actors, but when night came it was discovered that the craft were in earnest, and with few exceptions they had contrived to secure every seat in the house, while a mob without still squeezed for admission. The moment Dowton appeared upon the stage there was a hideous uproar and someone threw a pair of shears at him.

"Not a word would the rioters listen to, nor would they accept any compromise in the way of changing the piece. Within howled and hissed without intermission hundreds of exasperated tailors; outside howled and bellowed thousands of raging tailors, who attempted to storm the house. So formidable did the riot wax that a magistrate had to be sent for and special constables called out, but these were helpless against the overwhelming odds, so a troop of life guards was ultimately summoned, who after making sixteen prisoners, put the rest to flight."

¹³²Galton, pp. 132-145.

1818-19. "The Gorgon," a small London periodical, contains numerous articles by Francis Place, describing Tailors' Unions of this period.¹³³

1819. Copies are preserved of half-yearly reports and balance-sheets of a Tailors' Club of this date.¹³⁴

1823. Strike in Edinburgh.

1824. Attempt to federate the tailors' clubs of London for benefit purposes.

1824-25. Repeal of the general Combination Acts.

1825. Strike in Birmingham.

1828. Strike in Sheffield.

1831-32. Tailors take active part with other workers in political reforms.

1834. A big tailors' strike in London, involving more than six hundred shops. Masters organize firmly and replace men in part by women. Journeymen are completely routed.

1834. A similar strike fails in Manchester. General conditions are rapidly changing. The old tailors' clubs are breaking up. The date is characterized by premature efforts at national organization and general strikes in many trades, led largely by Robert Owen.¹³⁵

¹³³Ibid., pp. 146-60.

¹³⁴Galton, pp. 161-163.

¹³⁵The above outline has been purposely interrupted at the date of 1834, as indicating a crisis in the trade, and the beginning of new types of organization.

APPENDIX B.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' NATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1885.

(As adopted by the Third Annual Convention, Baltimore,
Md., August 10-15, 1885).

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, We, the Journeymen Tailors' Delegates, from the various cities and towns of the United States of America, in Convention assembled, have seen the necessity of a thorough organization of our trade, and that a common cause and the universal sympathy with all who work at our trade, demand of us to urge the immediate unity and consolidation of all the various organizations throughout the United States, in order that we may form a common bond of brotherhood, having for our object the elevation of our social and moral standing, not only amongst other branches of industry, but in the community at large, and the advancing of the material interests of our trade, believing as we do, that it will serve our employers, while it elevates our condition; (therefore have we adopted the following Constitution and By-Laws):¹³⁶

¹³⁶The preamble as printed was apparently incomplete; it has been found necessary to change one or two words and to add the clause in parenthesis in order to establish the connection.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION.—This organization shall be known as the "Journeyman Tailors' National Union of the United States."

ARTICLE 2. OBJECT.—The object of this union shall be to consolidate the interests of the trade throughout the United States, and organize unions where none exist, and in every legitimate way to resist the encroachments of capital.

ARTICLE 3. OFFICERS.—The officers of the National Union shall consist of a President, four Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, who combined shall constitute the Executive Board, the Secretary, Treasurer, and one Vice-President to be elected from one Local Union.

ARTICLE 4. AUDITORS.—Two Auditors shall be elected from the same Local Union from which the Secretary and Treasurer have been elected.

ARTICLE 5. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The Executive Board. The duties of the Executive Board shall be executive in character; they shall have the power to arbitrate on all questions relating to the trade, and as affecting the employer and employee, and have full power to act, when such differences occur as cannot be settled by arbitration. The Executive Board shall also be required to furnish semi-annually a complete report of the financial condition of the National Union, copies of which shall be furnished to each local union. They shall conduct all business by mail or telegraph except in very urgent cases when they can convene by obtaining the consent of two-thirds of all local unions belonging to the National Union.

Section 2. Duties of President. The President shall preside at all meetings of the National Union, preserve order, and enforce the laws thereof; he shall give the casting vote

in case of a tie, and perform all such other duties as may be prescribed by this Constitution.

Section 3. Duties of Vice-Presidents. The Vice-Presidents shall perform all the duties of President in his absence.

Section 4. Duties of Secretary. The duties of the Secretary shall be to receive all dues of the National Union, for which he shall forward a receipt within one week for the same, which receipt shall be countersigned by the Treasurer, and he shall pay the same over to the Treasurer weekly; he shall conduct all correspondence between the National and Local Unions; he shall also be the custodian of the seal of the Union and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him in conformity with this Constitution and By-Laws.

Section 5. Duties of Treasurer. The Treasurer shall be the custodian of all funds of the National Union, and shall countersign all receipts forwarded by the Secretary of the National Union to Local Unions for dues. He shall pay out all moneys vouched for by a majority of the Executive Board, and shall give a good and sufficient bond to the Executive Board, the amount of said bond to be determined by the Convention; the sufficiency of the bond to be approved by the Local Union of which the Treasurer is a member. He shall also together with the Secretary deposit all funds received by him within one week in a reliable bank, and shall not draw out the same or any part thereof, without the signature of the Secretary of the National Union and the Trustees of the Union to which he belongs; an order for the payment of money signed by a majority of the Executive Board, shall be sufficient authority for the Trustees of the Local Union. He may retain in his possession the sum of one hundred dollars, and no more, for current expenses of the National Union.

Section 6. Duties of Auditors. It shall be the duty of the Auditors to examine the books of the Secretary and

Treasurer semi-annually, and report thereon to the Executive Board, who shall print and distribute such report to the local unions.

Section 7. The term of office for all officers of the National Union shall expire when their successors are duly elected and qualified.

Section 8. The outgoing officers shall hand over all books, papers, moneys, and all other property belonging to the National Union to their successors.

ARTICLE 6. TRAVELING AND WITHDRAWAL CARDS.

Section 1. Members, who go traveling, will receive a traveling card from their Local Union; such card must be signed by the Secretary and presented to the Secretary of the Union where the holder obtains work or locates within eight days of time of such location. If there is no Union at the place, the card must be sent to the nearest Union in the vicinity.

Section 2. Any member who leaves the trade or goes out of the country, after paying all dues, fines, etc., is entitled to a Withdrawal Card from the Union to which he was attached. Such card entitles the holder to re-admission in any Local Union without admission fee, provided that such member has not acted against the interests of the Union.

Section 3. This National Union cannot be dissolved as long as five Local Unions declare in favor of its continuance.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I. The Convention of the National Union shall be held biennially and commence the first Monday in August. The Convention before adjourning shall appoint the place for holding the next Convention.

ARTICLE 2. The President shall appoint a Committee on Credentials, consisting of three delegates.

ARTICLE 3. The roll of Local Unions and presentation of credentials shall be first in order after opening the Convention.

ARTICLE 4. All Local Unions shall be entitled to one delegate to the Convention, and all Unions of 200 members and under 300, shall be entitled to two delegates, and all Unions of over 300 members shall be entitled to three delegates and no more.

ARTICLE 5. The Secretary is empowered to group small Local Unions before the Convention meets, to send delegates based on the ratio provided in the foregoing section.

ARTICLE 6. Any Local Union may become a member of the National Union on application to the Secretary and payment of an initiation fee of five dollars.

ARTICLE 7. Seven members may organize a Local Union where none exists; they will be granted a charter by the Secretary upon application and the initiation fee.

ARTICLE 8. Each Local Union may make its own Constitution and By-Laws, which must, however, be in accord with this Constitution and By-Laws.

ARTICLE 9. Every Local Union shall pay to the National Secretary the monthly dues of ten cents per capita, said dues to be forwarded every three months with a statement of their condition; blanks for said statement to be furnished free of charge by the National Secretary; dues to be forwarded on the first day of October, January, April and July of each year. But Local Unions of over 200 members are recommended to pay their dues monthly.

ARTICLE 10. Local Unions six months in arrears shall not be entitled to protection from the National Union until all arrears are paid up and they are clear on the books at least one month.

ARTICLE 11. Any member out of work on account of a strike or lockout recognized by the Executive Board shall be paid four dollars per week during its continuance.

ARTICLE 12. Whenever any Local Union intends to initiate a strike, but cannot do so without the aid of the National Union, it must notify the Secretary of the National Union immediately; such notice to contain a full account of the reasons and circumstances, as well as the number of men expected to go on strike.

ARTICLE 13. No strike in any Local Union shall be supported by the National Union unless the Local Union has complied with the requirements of this Constitution, and is duly authorized by the Executive Board. But the National Union shall not support any strike declared in the months of January, February, July and August.

ARTICLE 14. The Executive Board may recognize and support any strike caused by a reduction and a lockout forced on the Local Union by the employers without previous notice of the Local Union, but no financial benefit shall be paid by the National Union by the Local Union for the first week of any strike.

ARTICLE 15. In case of any strike or lockout, the Executive Board shall have power to appoint a Committee to effect a settlement of the differences existing between the employer and the employees, and if the Committee so appointed effects a settlement, by arbitration or otherwise, and the Local Union refuses to comply with the terms of said settlement, then the Local Union shall support the strike or lockout from their own local funds.

ARTICLE 16. The Executive Board shall have power in case of a strike or lockout, when the funds of the National Union are exhausted, to declare a special levy, but not to an amount of more than 50 cents in any one quarter.

ARTICLE 17. In extreme cases of a long-continued strike

or lockout, the Executive Board shall submit to the Local Unions for their vote propositions for a further levy, which shall receive the approval of a majority of the members of the Local Unions, before being declared by the Executive Board adopted.

ARTICLE 18. All levies authorized by the General Executive Board shall be forwarded to the National Secretary within thirty days after the time the same were declared.

ARTICLE 19. No Local Union shall be subject to a levy for the first six months of their membership in the National Union.

ARTICLE 20. If any member of a Local Union, having violated the conditions imposed upon him by the Constitution of this Union, either leaves or is expelled from the same, it shall be the duty of the Local Secretary to notify the Secretary of the National Union of such action, who shall at once notify all Local Unions. Such member shall not be eligible to membership in any other union, until all indebtedness against him by his Local Union shall have been paid.

ARTICLE 21. The Secretary must be notified of every change of address of Local Secretaries.

ARTICLE 22. The Convention shall fix the salaries of officers and shall have full power to amend Constitution if necessary.

ARTICLE 23. Propositions of amendments to this Constitution shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the National Union at least three months before the meeting of the next Convention, and the Secretary shall be required to notify immediately all Local Unions of such propositions.

ARTICLE 24. The expenses of delegates to the National Convention shall be paid by the Local Unions they represent.

ARTICLE 25. Expenses of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer of the National Union to the Annual Convention shall be paid from the funds of the National Union, but

they shall not be eligible as delegates from their Local Unions.

ARTICLE 26. No Local Union shall be entitled to any benefit until such union has been at least six months a member of the National Union, and is clear on the books of the National Union.

ARTICLE 27. All propositions submitted to the Local Unions for their approval or disapproval, shall in order to become legal and binding have a two-thirds majority; the exact number voting "Aye" and the exact number voting "Nay" shall be taken by the local secretary and forwarded to the General Secretary, who shall compute the result and notify the Executive Board and Local Unions of the same.

ARTICLE 28. In case of disability of any officer of the Executive Board, either through sickness, death or retirement, the vacancy shall be filled by the Local Union of which such officer was a member.

ARTICLE 29. It shall be the duty of the Secretary and Treasurer to secure and carry out a uniform system of keeping the accounts of the National Union.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved:* We declare ourselves in firm terms to be in true accord with all labor unions in the United States, and pledge them our support to bring about remedial measures in the interest of Labor in general.

2. *Resolved:* We believe that a permanent improvement of the condition of the wage-working class cannot be effected by any means whatever, unless accompanied by a reduction in the hours of labor.

3. *Resolved:* The Prison Contract Labor System as carried on in the prisons and penitentiaries of several states of

the Union is economically impolitic and an insult to the feelings and an injury to the interests of the working people in general. We therefore urge the necessity upon all labor organizations to demand its abolition.

4. *Resolved:* We recommend the principles of co-operation to our trade and the working classes in general when practicable.

5. *Resolved:* That in the opinion of this Convention the best interest of the trade will be served by the establishment of a trade organ. We therefore earnestly recommend to the Local Unions the necessity of the same, and request the Executive Board to find a paper which shall be the recognized organ of this Union until we start one of our own.

6. *Resolved:* That we unequivocally condemn the system in the trade of having the work done in our homes, and while we recognize the system to be deep rooted, we would recommend the gradual substitution of the system of workshops provided by the employers of trades.

7. *Resolved:* We recognize the inexpediency at the present time of attaching a sick and burial fund to the National Union, but we fully recognize the benefits to be derived therefrom, and call on all Unions to give it their most serious consideration and adopt it as soon as possible.

8. *Resolved:* We as a body thoroughly approve of the object of the organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, and pledge ourselves to give it our earnest support.

9. *Resolved:* That we recommend all Local Unions to attach themselves to any representative Central Labor Union or Trades Assembly existing in their vicinity.

10. WHEREAS, the delegates to this Convention have after careful consideration postponed the Annual Convention so that no Convention will be held for two years, therefore be it

Resolved, That in case any serious matter arises during the interim between the Conventions, or should the Constitution or By-Laws be found insufficient or unwise, the Executive Board shall on the united request of seven or more Local Unions, submit to a vote to the general body any proposition that seven or more Local Unions shall demand to have submitted, and in case the propositions shall be carried the Executive Board shall be governed thereby.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷At date of writing, the above constitution was the oldest in the writer's collection. Constitutions have since been discovered of 1865 and 1884, but too late to be incorporated in this thesis.



JOHN B. LENNON.

APPENDIX C.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, JOHN B. LENNON.

John Brown Lennon, the son of John A. and Elizabeth F. Lennon, was born in Lafayette County, Wisconsin, October 12, 1850. When he was two years of age the family removed to Hannibal, Missouri, and here the greater part of his boyhood was spent. He had few advantages as to education, being obliged at the age of eleven to take hold with his mother and help work the small farm on which they lived, the father having entered the Union Army in 1861. John Lennon, Sr., was a tailor by trade. At the close of the war he reopened his shop in Hannibal, and his son started in to learn the trade. After a four years' apprenticeship the son set out for the west, and in 1869 opened a merchant tailoring store in Denver, Colorado. The following year his parents and sisters also came to Denver and his father took charge of the shop. After this John B. Lennon worked as a journeyman for various merchant tailors of Denver, continuing this employment until about July, 1886.

Mr. Lennon had been active in forming a tailors' union in Denver. This union became affiliated with the new National organization before the close of the convention year, 1883. At this time Lennon was Secretary of the Denver union. In 1884, while acting as president of the same union, he was appointed as a delegate to the Chicago convention of the National Union. At this convention he was elected President of the National, and at the 1885 convention was elected one of the vice-presidents. At the New York convention in 1887 he was elected General Secretary and editor

of the official Journal, and took up his residence in New York, as the headquarters of the National Union. In 1896 the general office was removed to Bloomington, Illinois, and the Secretary moved with his family to this locality, where he has continued to make his home until the present date. The office of Secretary he held until July, 1910, when he was superseded by Mr. Eugene J. Brais, of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Lennon has been present at practically every Convention of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, usually in his official capacity as an officer. In 1887 he was one of the delegates of the Tailors' Union to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and has been a delegate at every one of their annual meetings since that date. At the Detroit Convention in 1888 he was elected Treasurer of the Federation, and has been annually reelected. By virtue of this appointment he is a member of the Executive Council, and has been closely associated with Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell, and others prominent in the labor movement.

In recent years Mr. Lennon has become well known as a public speaker, especially upon the subject of Church and Labor and upon the Anti-Saloon movement. He has addressed a number of large meetings in different parts of the country upon these subjects, and is regarded as one of the leaders in the fight against the liquor traffic. He is a member of the Committee on Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, and has taken an active part in the recent movement toward a closer affiliation between the church and the masses.



E. J. BRAIS.

APPENDIX D.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, EUGENE J. BRAIS.

Eugene J. Brais was born in St. John's, Quebec, June 18, 1880, both of his parents being of French Canadian descent. When he was five years of age the family moved to Montreal. Here he attended parochial school until the age of ten, when his people moved to the United States, taking up residence in Cleveland, Ohio. The boy attended the public schools in Cleveland for three years, after which he turned to the trades, working for about two years at printing, and for about three years at making and selling shoes. In 1899 he took up the tailoring trade, and prepared himself for a coatmaker.

The Brais family were all active unionists, his father being a carpenter, and a member successively of the Knights of Labor and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, while several brothers and sisters have been union members. Eugene J. Brais soon became prominent in the Cleveland movement, and in 1907 was elected Business Agent of the local Tailors' Union in that city. In 1909 he was a delegate to the Buffalo Convention of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and a member of the Committee on Laws and Audit. At the opening of the Convention he was elected Chairman, and was regarded as the spokesman of the Socialist or "progressive" element. Following this Convention he became a candidate for General Secretary, and when the vote was taken, December 13, 1909, he was elected, to take office July 1, 1910. On this date he took up his residence in Bloom-

ington, Illinois, the location of the general headquarters, and continues to make his home in that city.

In 1900 Mr. Brais became a member of the Socialist Party, and has since been an active leader in this movement. He is held to represent that element in the National Tailors' Union which believes in maintaining the organization for trade purposes, but desires in addition a more vigorous Socialist propaganda than the more conservative unionists. Mr. Brais has been a delegate to several Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and is regarded as a rising leader in those branches of social reform in which he is interested.

CHAPTER 4.

STATISTICS OF THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER 4.

STATISTICS OF THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA.

I. Development of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, 1883-1911.

Table I. Condition of the National Union, 1883-1911.

(a) *Source and accuracy.* The figures in this table are taken from the reports of the general officers to the successive legislative sessions of the National Union.¹³⁸ The balances in the general fund as indicated for the several dates are taken from the audited accounts and are correct. The number of local unions is also correct. The number of members on each date is given as reported by the Secretary. It may vary in the larger figures as much as 500 from an accurate statement, in view of the fact that the membership was not exactly the same from month to month, changing on account of members initiated and members suspended for non-payment of dues.

(b) *Special Notes.*

I. Variations in number of locals. The rapid increase in the number of locals from 1887 to 1893 is explained by the adoption of a vigorous organizing policy, under the direction of a paid secretary. By this means practically all of the scattered tailors' unions not previously affiliated were brought into the National, and in addition a number of new locals were organized.

¹³⁸Owing to the lack of published proceedings of the Convention of 1883, the writer has been obliged to estimate the membership of the five charter locals,—New York, Philadelphia, Troy, Baltimore and Pittsburgh, from the membership of the same unions in 1884.

From 1893 to 1899 a decline is noted, due primarily to the after-effects of the panic.¹³⁹ Following this industrial depression, there is a steady increase in membership until 1907, when another decline begins. This is undoubtedly due in the main to the rapid development of the special-order and agency trade, which, as suggested in a former chapter, has nearly destroyed old-line tailoring in some of the smaller towns.

At the present date the administration is spending large sums of money for organizing purposes, and a special effort is being made to organize tailors working on the new systems. This policy may succeed in arresting the decline in membership.

TABLE I.
CONDITION OF THE NATIONAL UNION, 1883-1911.

Date	Number of Locals		Total Membership	Average Membership per Local	General Fund		
					Balance on hand	Deficit	Balance per Capita
Aug., 1883	5	1,800	360.0				
July 1, 1884	16	2,402	150.0				
Aug. 15, 1885	23	2,481	107.9				
Aug. 15, 1887	27	2,512	93.0		\$ 3,256 09		\$1 55
Aug. 1, 1889	97	5,000	51.5		4,098 09		82
Aug. 1, 1891	169	9,014	53.3		8,103 69		90
July 1, 1893	200	10,204	51.0		8,111 41		79
April 1, 1896						688 86	
July 1, 1897	181	5,683	31.4		2,389 01		42
July 1, 1899	151	6,217	41.2		14,134 12		2 27
July 1, 1901	202	9,727	48.1		25,006 55		2 57
July 1, 1903	308	14,496	47.0		46,417 05		3 20
Jan. 1, 1905	331	16,000	48.3		32,503 49		2 03
July 1, 1907	327	16,000	49.1		87,860 03		5 49
July 1, 1909	325	13,000	40.0		56,423 66		4 34
July 1, 1911	310	12,300	39.7		96,555 17		7 85

2. Variations in Total Membership.

The reasons given for the variations in the number of local unions from 1883 to 1897 apply with equal force to the

¹³⁹For some time after the panic organizing work was seriously handicapped. In the two years, 1894 and 1895, only \$1,158.02 was spent for organizing purposes, as compared with \$2,401.15 in the single year 1896.

variations in total membership during the same period. The unusually heavy loss of membership following the panic was due in a large measure to the loss of the New York union, which left the National after a disastrous strike to resist a reduction in wages.¹⁴⁰ In 1899 it is seen that there was a slight recovery of membership, although the number of local unions had continued to decrease. This is accounted for by the fact that the weak unions continued to straggle away, while the stronger ones were beginning to recuperate. Following 1899 there is a continuous gain until 1907. During this period the New York union rejoined. (September 1, 1903.) After 1907 there is a decline, for the same reasons that have produced decline in the number of locals.

3. *Variations in Average Membership per Local.* For the first four dates, 1883, 1884, 1885 and 1887, the averages do not accurately describe the greater number of the local unions, for the reason that on each of those dates the New York union alone contained in the neighborhood of half the entire membership. After 1887, this discrepancy is not so noticeable, owing to the larger number of locals. The almost complete loss of the New York union between 1893 and 1897, coupled with the general demoralization of other unions, produced a sharp decline in the average membership. After 1897 the average recovers again, and follows closely the changes in total membership.

4. *Variations in General Fund.*¹⁴¹ The term "General Fund," as used in the publications of the National Tailors' Union, refers to the balance on hand at any given date, clear

¹⁴⁰A small number of members remained affiliated with the National Union and retained the charter, but the majority withdrew and later formed a new association, which remained independent until 1903.

¹⁴¹The figures in this table begin with the earliest accounts that can be found in the official journal, *The Tailor*, and conclude with July 1, 1911, the end of the latest fiscal year. The same is true of all financial statements given in this chapter.

of all indebtedness. During the greater part of the period from 1883 to 1911, the general fund was maintained as a single fund from which all kinds of expenses of the National Union, including the benefits of members, were to be paid. About 1891 an attempt was made to maintain four separate funds,—an organizing fund, a funeral fund, a strike fund, and a general fund, but this was found impracticable, and was abandoned soon after the panic of 1893. A deficit is recorded in 1896; at this date the union had borrowed money in excess of its assets.

The notable fall in the funds following the panic is shown clearly by the table. The other main fluctuations occur between 1903 and 1905, and between 1907 and 1909. The falling off in funds in each case was due to expensive strikes. The large balances shown on all dates after 1899 are due to increases in membership and in the monthly dues.¹⁴²

TABLE 2.
INCOME AND EXPENSE, JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA.
1885-1911.

	<i>Income.</i>	<i>Expense.</i>
Oct. 1, 1885-Aug. 14, 1887	\$ 5,698.99	\$ 2,442.90
Aug. 15, 1887-July 31, 1889	10,370.22	9,528.22
Aug. 1, 1889-July 31, 1891	47,734.16	43,728.56
Aug. 1, 1891-June 30, 1893	76,566.11	76,558.49
July 1, 1893-June 30, 1895	64,312.45	71,056.94
July 1, 1895-June 30, 1897	45,313.84	44,291.75
July 1, 1897-June 30, 1899	45,266.22	33,576.97
July 1, 1899-June 30, 1901	73,229.00	62,300.71
July 1, 1901-June 30, 1903	113,998.72	92,588.22
July 1, 1903-Dec. 31, 1904 (1½ yr.)	128,791.69	142,705.25
Jan. 1, 1905-June 30, 1907 (2½ yr.)	202,810.21	147,453.67
July 1, 1907-June 30, 1909	184,304.70	215,741.07
July 1, 1909-June 30, 1911	197,255.92	157,124.41
	<hr/> \$1,195,652.23	<hr/> \$1,099,097.06
Total Income, Oct. 1, 1885 to June 30, 1911.....	\$1,195,652.23	
Total Expense, Oct. 1, 1885 to June 30, 1911.....	1,099,097.06	
Leaves balance in general fund, June 30, 1911.....	\$ 96,555.17	

¹⁴²For details of changes in monthly dues and other sources of income, see notes to Table 2.

Table 2. Income and Expense, 1885-1911.

(a) *Source and Accuracy.* The figures for the table of income and expense have been taken from the reports of the General Secretary to the legislative sessions of the National Union. These figures have been carefully audited and are correct.

(b) *Special Notes.*

1. The regular fiscal period of the Tailors' National Union is two years. It will be noticed in the table that there is a slight deviation from this in the case of the first, second and fourth periods; also that the four years from July 1, 1903, to June 30, 1907, is divided into periods of 1½ and 2½ years, instead of into periods of two years each. These deviations are due to the shifting of the date specified by the constitution for the general audit, and should be taken into account by the reader in comparing the amounts of income and expense for the successive periods.

2. *Sources of income.* At the present date the principal sources of income are initiation fees and monthly dues, interest on the general fund, and income from the sale of supplies to local unions. Levies were formally an important item, but have now been replaced largely by increased monthly dues. The following statement shows the classification of income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911.¹⁴³

INCOME OF THE TAILORS' NATIONAL UNION, JULY 1, 1910—JUNE 30, 1911.	
Initiation fees and monthly dues.....	\$ 97,438.55
Interest on general fund.....	2,132.41
Sale of supplies.....	1,109.40
Miscellaneous	250.02
Total	\$100,930.38

¹⁴³This statement is taken from *The Tailor*, July, 1911, p. 18.

To understand the variations in income during the period covered by Table 2, it is necessary to know the history of the regulations of the National Union on the subject of dues, levies and fees. For this purpose the following statements have been compiled, showing the laws as found in the successive constitutions of the Union.

LAWS OF THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA,
FEES AND MONTHLY DUES.¹

<i>Const.</i>	<i>In force.</i>			<i>Init. fee.</i>	<i>Reinst. fee.</i>	<i>Charter fee.</i>	<i>Mo. dues.</i>
1883	Aug.,	1883-Aug.,	1884				\$.05
1884 ²	Aug.,	1884-Aug.,	1885				.10
1885	Aug.,	1885-Aug.,	1887	None	None	\$ 5.00	.10
1887	Aug.,	1887-Aug.,	1889	None	None	5.00	.10
1889	Aug.,	³ 1889-Jan. 1,	1892	\$1.00	\$1.00	8.00	.25
1892 ⁴	Jan. 1,	1892-Jan. 1,	1894	1.00	1.00	8.00	.25
1894	Jan. 1,	1894-Aug. 1,	1895	1.00	2.00	10.00	.30
1895 ⁵	Aug. 1,	1895-Apr. 1,	1896	1.00	2.00	10.00	.30
1896	Apr. 1,	1896-Jan. 1,	1898	1.00	2.00	10.00	.30
1898	Jan. 1,	1898-Jan. 1,	1900	1.00	2.00	10.00	.35
1900	Jan. 1,	1900-Jan. 1,	1902	1.00	2.00	10.00	.35
1902	Jan. 1,	1902-Jan. 1,	1904	1.00	2.00	10.00	.40
1904	Jan. 1,	1904-July 1,	1905	1.00	5.00	10.00	.40
1905	July 1,	1905-Jan. 1,	1908	½ loc. fee	3.00	None	.45
1908	Jan. 1,	1908-Jan. 1,	1910	½ loc. fee	3.00	None	.45 ⁶
1910	Jan. 1,	1910		1.00	3.00	None	.65

- (1) The fees and monthly dues as given in this table are the amounts payable to the National Union. In addition each member is required to pay local fees and local dues. Reinstatement fees are required of members who become suspended for non-payment of dues, and who want to reenter the union. Under the present constitution (1910) the local initiation fee is \$1.00 in all local unions; the local reinstatement fee is \$3.00; there is no local charter fee; the local dues are set by the constitution of each local union, but cannot be less than twenty cents a month.
- (2) At date of writing this article the texts of the 1883 and 1884 constitutions are not available. The provisions as to dues have been ascertained from the former secretary.
- (3) The 1889 constitution went into effect August 17, 1889, except the clauses on funeral benefit and organizing levies, which went into effect January 1, 1890.
- (4) The first five constitutions, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, and 1889, were dated the same as the convention years, because each of these constitutions went into effect before the close of the convention year. All later constitutions went into effect the first of January following the convention or committee meeting, and are dated accordingly, with three exceptions: (1) The 1895 constitution went

into effect August 1, 1895, following the adoption of certain amendments submitted to a general vote by the General Executive Board (2) The 1896 constitution went into effect April 1, 1896, following the adoption of further amendments submitted by the Board. (3) The 1905 constitution went into effect July 1, 1905, following a convention held in February instead of in August as usual.

- (5) The constitution of 1895 is not published in book form, but can be found in *The Tailor*, August, 1895, pp. 1-7
- (6) The 1908 constitution provides that dues shall be 45 cents a month until July 1, 1908, when they shall be raised to 60 cents a month, on account of the adoption of a sick benefit.

LAWS OF THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA.
LEVIES AND SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS.

*Const.*¹ *Provisions for Levies and Assessments.*

1883 (Constitution not available.)

1884 (Constitution not available.)

(1) The period during which the successive constitutions were in force has been given in the preceding table and is not repeated here.

1885 (1) A special levy may be declared, if necessary, by authority of the General Executive Board; not to exceed 50 cents per member in any one quarter.

(2) In case of long-continued strikes, additional levies can be declared by a majority vote of the general membership.

1887 Same as 1885.

1889 (1) In case of danger of deficiency in the general fund, Executive Board may levy assessment of 10 cents per member against local union treasuries, but not more than twice in any three consecutive months.

(2) Special strike levy, not to exceed 50 cents per member, can be declared by a two-thirds vote of the general membership.

(3) Special convention levy, to assist in payment of mileage of delegates, can be declared by a two-thirds vote of the general membership.

- Const. Provisions for Levies and Assessments. (Con.)*
- (4) Regular levy for organizing purposes, 50 cents per member, to be paid annually.
- 1892 (1) 10 cent assessment by Executive Board, same as 1889.
- (2) Special strike levy, same as 1889.
- (3) Special convention levy, same as 1889.
- (4) Regular organizing levy, 5 cents per member per month.
- 1894 Provisions (1), (2), and (3) of 1892, re-enacted. (4), organizing levy, repealed.
- 1895 Same as 1894.
- 1896 Same as 1894.
- 1898 (1) 10 cent assessment by Executive Board, as before.
- (2) Special organizing assessments by Executive Board, not to exceed 50 cents a year.
- (3) Two regular annual 25 cent levies, to be paid by each member on May 1 and November 1; to be discontinued when the general fund reaches \$10,000.
- (4) Special strike levy, not to exceed 50 cents per member, by *majority* vote of general membership. (Formerly two-thirds vote.)
- (5) Special convention levy, by *majority* vote of general membership. (Formerly two-thirds vote.)
- 1900 Provisions (1), (4) and (5) of 1898, re-enacted.
- (2) Special organizing assessments, repealed.
- (3) Two annual levies as in 1898, but not to be discontinued until fund reaches \$30,000.

Const. Provisions for Levies and Assessments. (Con.)

- 1902 (1) 10 cent assessment by Executive Board, as before.
(2) Special strike levy, as before.
(3) Special convention levy, to be declared by Executive Board in case the membership vote to have a convention.
- 1904 (1) One annual 25 cent levy, to be paid by each member on October 1; to be discontinued when the general fund reaches \$5.00 per member.
(2) Special strike levy, as before.
(3) In case of a strike lasting more than six weeks, the Executive Board may at their discretion raise the strike benefit 50 cents a day. To provide funds for this purpose the Board may if necessary declare a levy of 25 cents on each member of the National Union, payable at once from the treasuries of the local unions; the local unions to reimburse their treasuries by collecting the levy from the members.
- 1905 (1) Two 25 cent levies, annual, payable May 1 and October 1, to be discontinued when general fund reaches \$100,000.
(2) Special strike levy, not to exceed 50 cents per member, to be declared by Executive Board when necessary, *without a general vote*. (Formerly majority vote of general membership required.)
- 1908 Provisions (1) and (2), same as 1905.

Note. The 10 cent assessment and special convention levy are repealed in 1904, and do not appear in any later constitution. Expense of organizing work and mileage of delegates are paid from general fund, without special assessments.

Const. Provisions for Levies and Assessments. (Con.)

1910 (1) Special emergency or strike levy, not to exceed 50 cents per member *per month*, to be declared by Executive Board without a general vote.

(All other levies repealed.)

3. *Classification of Expense.* Undoubtedly the greatest single item of expense, when the whole period is considered, has been the strike benefit. As shown in a following table, the strike benefit from August 15, 1887 to July 1, 1911, amounted to \$378,508.31, or a little over one-third of the total expense for the same period.

The following statement shows classification of expense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911.¹⁴⁴

Organizing expenses	\$24,165.40
Sick benefits	21,256.35
Death benefits	10,870.75
The Tailor, printing and shipping..	4,363.08
Strike benefits	4,330.00
Office salaries	3,856.00
Stationery and supplies for local unions and for the general office.	2,739.82
Miscellaneous items	5,364.04

Total expense.....\$76,945.44

Note. Under "Miscellaneous Items" are included small bills, such as rent, postage, telegrams, etc., and also the following larger items: dues to American Federation of Labor, and Canada Labor Congress; services General Executive Board; services of delegates to American Federation of Labor; salary General Treasurer; attorney's fees, and premiums on bonds of general officers.

¹⁴⁴This statement is taken from *The Tailor*, July, 1911, p. 18.

TABLE 3.
LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS OF THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION
OF AMERICA.

<i>Nature of Session.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Reference to Proceedings.¹</i>
Convention	Aug., 1883	Philadelphia, Pa.	
Convention	Aug. 11, 1884	Chicago, Ill.	Pub. (N.Y., 1884)
Convention	Aug. 10, 1885	Baltimore, Md.	Pub. (N.Y., 1885)
Convention	Aug. 8, 1887	New York, N.Y.	Tailor, Oct., 1887
Convention	Aug. 12, 1889	Columbus, Ohio	Tailor, Sept., 1889
Convention	Aug. 3, 1891	St. Louis, Mo.	Tailor, Aug., 1891
Convention	Aug. 7, 1893	St. Paul, Minn.	Tailor, Aug., 1893
Committee	Aug. 2, 1897 ²	Bloomington, Ill.	Tailor, Aug., 1897
Committee	Aug. 7, 1899	Bloomington, Ill.	Tailor, Aug., 1899
Committee	Aug. 5, 1901	Bloomington, Ill.	Tailor, Aug., 1901
Committee	Aug. 3, 1903	Bloomington, Ill.	Tailor, Aug., 1903
Committee	Jan. 30, 1905	Bloomington, Ill.	Tailor, Feb., 1905
Convention	Feb. 6, 1905	Bloomington, Ill.	Tailor, Feb., 1905
Committee	Aug. 5, 1907	Bloomington, Ill.	Tailor, Aug., 1907
Committee	July 26, 1909	Buffalo, N. Y.	Tailor, Aug., 1909
Convention	Aug. 2, 1909	Buffalo, N. Y.	Tailor, Aug., 1909

¹ The writer has not as yet been able to secure complete proceedings of the 1883 convention.

² The vote of the membership in 1895 was adverse to holding a convention, so that there was a period of four years, 1893-1897, without any regular legislative session.

Table 3. Legislative Sessions.

Special Notes. The 1883, 1884 and 1885 constitutions of the Tailors' National Union were adopted by the conventions of those dates, and were not submitted to a vote of the whole membership. The 1887 constitution, as adopted by the convention of that year, was submitted as a unit to a general vote, and was approved. The 1889 constitution was not submitted to a general vote, with the exception of certain propositions to levy an assessment for organizing purposes, and to establish a funeral benefit. These propositions were submitted to a vote of the membership, and were carried. The balance of the 1889 constitution went into effect by the action of the convention alone. The constitution of 1891, as adopted by the convention, was submitted as a unit to the membership, and was carried. The convention of 1893

adopted certain amendments to the 1891 constitution, which were then submitted to the membership as separate numbered propositions. The propositions which were carried were then incorporated in the constitution of 1893. All future constitutions were amended by this method of submitting to a vote of the general membership the separate constitutional changes as approved by the convention or other legislative session. The body submitting amendments has not always been a convention. The General Executive Board, acting under constitutional authority, has frequently sent out amendments for a general vote, and on one occasion (1896), virtually took the place of a convention, sending out a number of propositions, some of which were carried and embodied in the constitution of 1896. One of these propositions adopted in 1896 made an important change in the legislative machinery. Previously it had been the custom to send out a circular every two years, calling for a general vote on the question as to whether a convention should be held. If the vote was adverse there was no convention, and no provision was made for any regular legislative session until another two years had passed, when the vote could be taken again. If the vote was favorable the convention met and revised the laws. In those years that the convention met, it was provided that a Committee of five members should be appointed, known as the Committee on Laws and Audit, to meet just before the convention. This Committee was required to audit the books of the general officers, to examine proposed amendments to the constitution, and to make a report to the convention. By the amendment of 1896, the Committee on Laws and Audit was to be appointed in years when, by reason of an adverse vote, the convention did *not* meet, as well as in those years when it did. When there was no convention the Committee was empowered to consider amendments proposed, and to make recommendations and submit propositions to a general

vote, just as the convention would have done if it had been in session. The Committee was also to audit the books, and to make a report to the membership through the official Journal. This system of optional conventions, to be replaced by Committees when desired, prevailed with some modifications until 1909. Later amendments made the membership of the Committee twelve instead of five, and set the optional convention period at four years instead of two, the Committee, however, to meet every two years, whether the convention met or not. It is seen from the table that for twelve years, from 1893 to 1905, there was no convention, the legislative work being done in 1896 by the General Executive Board, and after that by Committees. In 1909 the law was made mandatory so as to require the holding of a convention every four years. The services of the Committee before conventions are retained, but the Committee meetings between conventions are abolished. The next convention will be held in 1913.

II. *Strikes and Lockouts.*

Definitions.

(a) *Strikes.* The term "strike" is familiar, and scarcely requires definition. In general a strike implies that the initiative in the dispute leading to a cessation of work is taken by the workmen.

(b) *Lockouts.* The term "lockout" is used somewhat indiscriminately in the tailoring trade, to indicate any of the following situations:

(1) All union members discharged, and declaration made that no unionists will be employed.

(2) One or more unionists discharged, on account of special activity in the union.

(3) Unionists permitted to remain at work, provided they will bargain as individuals; employers refuse to sign any agreement with union.

The question as to whether a disturbance is a strike or a lockout has come up in connection with the applications of local unions to the General Executive Board for support. In such cases the first situation named has always been recognized as a lockout. The second case might be regarded as a partial lockout, but it is more usual to refer to the members discharged as "victimized." While recognizing that "victimized" members have a grievance, the union has not as a rule demanded their reinstatement by the employer, but has simply aided such members from the strike benefit until they could get work elsewhere. As to the third case, it may be regarded as nearly equivalent to the first, as the employers know that as a rule the members will not work under these conditions. However, technically speaking, it is better to regard a disturbance growing out of this case as a strike for enforcing the system of collective bargaining, rather than as a lockout.

Closely connected with the situations named above are those where the employers refuse to employ unionists under any circumstances, or where they demand an agreement from prospective employees that they will not join a union. These are to be regarded as phases of the "black-list."

If the above distinctions are followed, the greater part of the important controversies that have taken place in the tailoring trade can be brought under the head of "strikes."

General Strike Policy of the Tailors' National Union.

From the very beginning it has been the policy of the National Union to maintain centralized control of strikes. The principal aid to maintaining this kind of control is the fact that the strike benefit fund is governed by the National Union. Before granting support to any local union it has been customary to make the following requirements:

(1) A genuine effort must be made by the local union to settle the controversy by negotiation with the employers,

before calling a strike. If such negotiation fails, a secret vote of the union is to be taken as to whether the members involved shall be called out and supported, a two-thirds vote to decide.

(2) Before any strike is actually begun, full information must be sent to headquarters, indicating the cause of difficulty; the number of members likely to be involved; the likelihood of all such members responding to a strike call, if it is ordered; the condition of trade, and the prospects of success. No members must be called out until permission has been received from the General Executive Board. Failure to observe this provision debars the local union from the receipt of benefit, and any strike undertaken without the sanction of the Executive Board must be carried on at the risk and expense of the local union.

(3) As a rule the union is requested to delay radical action and to keep the members at work until a representative of the National Union can be sent to the city to endeavor to secure a settlement. Many strikes have been avoided in this way, and the services of the national organizers in helping to settle local controversies are fully as important as their strictly organizing duties.

The essentials of the policy outlined above may be found in the earliest constitutions of the National Union,¹⁴⁵ and with some modifications have been continued to the present date.

Causes of Strikes. Specific Union Policies.

(a) *Strikes to resist reduction in wages.* It has been the uniform policy of the National Union to resist reductions whenever offered. There has been no deviation from this policy except during times of extreme industrial depression. In resisting reductions the union has met with a very high

¹⁴⁵See in Appendix B to Chapter 3, the By-laws of 1885, Articles 11-15.

degree of success, and it has been found necessary to accept very few reductions, except during panic times.

(b) *Strikes for increase of wages.* Considerable discretion has been exercised by the Executive Board in the matter of supporting demands for increased wages. It has been their rule for a number of years to require from local unions desiring to raise their price-bills a copy of the bill already paid, as well as a copy of the bill which it is desired to present to the employers, so that the Board can see directly the amount of the increase demanded. The Board has never placed obstacles in the way of any local union's obtaining as large an increase as possible by peaceable negotiations, but when it has been evident that a strike would be necessary, the Board has usually required that the local union should not demand more than a ten per cent increase; and the locals have been strongly urged to accept a compromise of less than this amount, rather than to strike. This policy has been followed quite consistently, with the result that a very large part of the demands made by local unions have been settled on a satisfactory basis without strikes. Where strikes have been necessary, a large per cent have succeeded, and, as a rule, the gains made have been permanent.

(c) *Strikes to enforce a union shop.* It is well known that many unionists desire to enforce the rule that all employees of establishments shall be members of the unions, and that unionists shall not work with non-unionists. The tailors have supported this principle as firmly as any other trade, but have not always insisted that it should be embodied in their wage contracts. There has been a tendency on the part of the general officers toward conservatism in this matter. It has been felt that while a demand for a union shop contract was legitimate, in case an employer was willing to sign it, nevertheless the strike and the boycott should not be used to enforce this demand; this principally on ac-

count of the strong feeling in the public mind that if the union reserved the right of its members to quit work at will the employer should be conceded the right to employ at will.¹⁴⁶ It was then the business of the union to get the employees organized, if they could. There have been, therefore, many contracts signed between tailors and their employers which make no mention of the employment of union members only. In such cases, however, the unions have reserved the right to cease working for an establishment if new employees refuse to join, and this position has ordinarily been sustained by the General Executive Board. It should be understood that the union regulations with respect to these matters have come to be customary in the trade, and in a majority of cases are observed by employees coming into union shops without any strike being necessary.

(d) *Strikes to enforce a system of collective bargaining.* Some of the most serious conflicts in the tailoring trade have arisen from the demands of employers that the workers in their employ should bargain as individuals. Sometimes the presentation of a new scale of prices by the men has been made the pretext for a demand of this kind. The unions have invariably refused to abandon the principle of collective bargaining, and in most cases the employers have given up their demands and made a settlement with the union committees, although sometimes long and expensive strikes were necessary before this result was secured.

(e) *Strikes against home work and in favor of free shops.* The agitation against home work has been very strong in the tailoring trade, especially on the part of the general officers of the union. During the early years of the official Journal, beginning with 1887, there was scarcely an issue that did not contain vigorous articles or editorials by

¹⁴⁶Recent large strikes for enforcing a union shop, e.g., Toronto, appear to indicate some change in this policy.

the general secretary on this subject. The net result of the movement to secure the free shops was a considerable increase in the number of members working in such shops. It was not possible, however, to make the free shop system universal all over the country. The situation is well expressed by the Secretary in his report to the 1905 Convention:

"While the piece system of work so largely prevails in our trade, it appears as though it will be almost impossible to completely enforce the free shop system, and this more because of the opposition of the journeymen tailors, than from the opposition of the employers. To work at home gives the journeyman tailor an opportunity to work for several different establishments, and they believe as a rule that this is an advantage to them, and believing that, it is almost an impossibility to persuade or force every one into the free shops."¹⁴⁷

Strikes arising out of the question of the free shops have taken two forms: (1) Strikes to oblige employers to furnish free shops. (2) Strikes to oblige members to work in the free shops after they have been secured. The details of all such strikes can not be given here; the results were as noted above.

(f) *Strikes against the change of system.* In the chapter on present conditions in the trade it was noted that there is a continuous tendency on the part of employers to inaugurate systems of cheaper production. Such systems have usually meant that all or part of the skilled journeymen would be thrown out of work, and the journeymen have naturally objected strongly to such changes. Strikes for the purpose of resisting changes in the system of production have been the least successful strikes in the trade. It has become the policy of the National Union not to support such strikes, as long as there is any possibility of securing an agree-

¹⁴⁷Tailor, Aug., 1905, p. 7.

ment between the employers and the journeymen for the government of the new system after it is started. It is not always possible to reemploy all the journeymen, but frequently some of them can be reemployed, and this is considered better, provided union conditions can be had, than a strike.

The list of causes enumerated above does not, of course, include all possible causes of strikes in the tailoring trade, but it includes the most important ones.

TABLE 4.
STRIKE BENEFIT REGULATIONS, 1884-1910.

<i>Const.</i>	<i>In force.¹</i>	<i>Str. ben. begins:</i>	<i>Str. ben. per wk., 1st 6 wks.</i>	<i>Str. ben. per wk., after 6 wks.</i>
1883	1883-1884 ²			
1884	1884-1885		\$6.00	\$6.00
1885	1885-1887	8th day of strike	4.00	4.00
1887	1887-1889	8th day of strike	4.00	4.00
1889	1889-1891	8th day of strike	5.00	5.00
1892	1892-1893	8th day of strike	6.00	6.00
1894	1894-1895	8th day of strike	6.00	6.00
1895	1895-1896	8th day of strike	6.00	6.00
1896	1896-1897	8th day of strike	6.00 ³	6.00 ³
1898	1898-1899	8th day of strike	6.00 ⁴	6.00 ⁴
1900	1900-1901	5th day of strike	6.00 ⁵	6.00 ⁵
1902	1902-1903	5th day of strike	6.00 ⁶	6.00 ⁶
1904	1904-1905	5th day of strike	6.00	6.00 ⁷
1905	1905-1907	5th day of strike ⁸	6.00	9.00 ⁹
1908	1908-1909	1st day of strike ¹⁰	6.00	9.00
1910	1910-	1st day of strike ¹¹	6.00	9.00

- 1 For exact dates see table of regulations respecting fees and monthly dues, page 114.
- 2 The constitution of 1883 is not available.
- 3 "Except during the months of January, February, July and August of each year, during which months strike or lockout benefits shall be four dollars per week." (Constitution of 1896, Sec. 48.)
- 4 Except four months, same as 1896.
- 5 Except in January, February, July and August, when benefit shall be \$4.50 per week. (Constitution of 1900, Sec. 54).
- 6 Applies the year around; former exceptions repealed.
- 7 After a strike has been on six weeks, the General Executive Board shall have power at their discretion to raise the strike benefit to \$9.00 per week, and to levy for this purpose if necessary a special assessment of 25 cents on each member of the National Union. (Constitution of 1904, Sec. 63.)

- 8 "In case of any strike or lockout involving 50 per cent or more of the members of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, no strike benefit shall be paid *for the first four weeks.*" (Constitution of 1905, Sec. 78.) The same provision is found in the 1908 and 1910 constitutions.
- 9 Qualifications in 1904 constitution removed; regular benefit is now \$9.00 per week for each member involved, after the strike has been on for six weeks.
- 10 But if strike is settled within four days from the beginning, no benefit shall be paid. If strike lasts more than four days, benefit shall be paid from the first day.
- 11 Qualifications same as in 1908.

TABLE 5.

EXPENDITURE FOR ORGANIZING PURPOSES, STRIKE BENEFITS, DEATH BENEFITS, AND SICK BENEFITS.

Period.	Org.	Strike.	Death.	Sick.
Aug. 15, 1887, to Aug. 1, 1889 (23.5 mo.)..	\$ 1,171.40	\$ 3,438.00	\$.....	\$.....
Aug. 1, 1889, to Aug. 1, 1891 (2 yrs.)....	3,793.85	14,683.01	11,250.00	.....
Aug. 1, 1891, to July 1, 1893 (23 mo.)....	7,953.64	24,369.25	29,300.00	.....
July 1, 1893, to July 1, 1895 (2 yrs.).....	1,765.91	27,485.05	26,045.40	.....
July 1, 1895, to July 1, 1897 (2 yrs.).....	4,108.95	12,565.95	13,852.85	.....
July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1899 (2 yrs.).....	9,186.14	4,371.00	9,208.40	.....
July 1, 1899, to July 1, 1901 (2 yrs.).....	8,912.18	28,463.25	10,716.19	.....
July 1, 1901, to July 1, 1903 (2 yrs.).....	16,908.32	34,262.50	15,312.40	.....
July 1, 1903, to Jan. 1, 1905 (1½ yrs.)....	17,737.71	84,842.45	13,678.00	.....
Jan. 1, 1905, to July 1, 1907 (2.5 yrs.)....	33,998.32	31,874.50	31,133.50	.....
July 1, 1907, to July 1, 1909 (2 yrs.).....	30,943.88	95,817.35	22,195.63	30,056.00
July 1, 1909, to July 1, 1911 (2 yrs.).....	40,574.31	11,336.00	21,138.75	43,412.90

Totals, Aug. 15, 1887, to July 1, 1911:

For organizing purposes	\$177,054.61
For strike benefits	373,508.31
For death benefits	203,921.12
For sick benefits	73,468.90

N. B.—Payment of death benefit began April 1, 1890; of sick benefit, Jan. 1, 1908

Strike Benefit Regulations.

Table 4. *Strike Benefit Regulations, 1884-1910.* The abstract in this table is taken from the successive constitutions of the National Union. The table shows the amount of

strike benefit per week paid to each member involved in a strike which has been authorized by the General Executive Board. It is seen that the strike benefit since 1905 has been exceptionally liberal, being \$1.50 a day or \$9.00 a week for each member, after a strike has been on more than six weeks.

Table 5. Expenditure for Organizing Purposes, Strike Benefits, Death Benefits, and Sick Benefits.

The figures in this table are taken from the reports of the General Secretary to the Conventions and Committees of the National Union. The primary purpose in submitting them at this point is to enable the reader to compare strike benefit with the other leading objects of expenditure by the Tailors' Union.

TABLE 6.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN THE TAILORING TRADE, 1881-1911.

Period	Number of Strikes	Won or Compromised	Lost	Members Involved	Members Benefited	Members Not Benefited	Percent Benefited of Total Involved	National Strike Benefit Paid
Jan. 1, 1881-Dec. 31, 1886.....	35	23	12	2476	1886	590	75.8	.....
Aug. 15, 1887-July 31, 1889....	40	35	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$ 3,438.00
Aug. 1, 1889-July 31, 1891....	219	185	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,683.01
Aug. 1, 1891-June 30, 1893....	150	135	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	24,369.25
July 1, 1893-June 30, 1895....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27,485.05
July 1, 1895-June 30, 1897....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,565.95
July 1, 1897-June 30, 1899....	40	33	7	1263	1216	47	96.3	4,371.00
July 1, 1899-June 30, 1901....	78	72	6	1846	1423	423	77.0	28,463.25
July 1, 1901-June 30, 1903....	113	113	0	1862	.....	.....	.....	34,262.50
July 1, 1903-Aug. 31, 1903....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,014.00
Sept. 1, 1903-Aug. 31, 1904....	24	18	6	1142	340	802	29.8	44,315.00
Sept. 1, 1904-Aug. 31, 1905....	22	16	6	641	397	244	61.9	11,414.00
Sept. 1, 1905-Aug. 31, 1906....	16	14	2	800	735	65	91.9	9,676.50
Sept. 1, 1906-Aug. 31, 1907....	22	19	3	1810	1400	410	77.3	21,275.00
Sept. 1, 1907-Aug. 31, 1908....	21	16	5	400	.....	.....	.....	78,613.85
Sept. 1, 1908-Aug. 31, 1909....	18	15	3	500	420	80	84.0	12,960.50
Sept. 1, 1909-Aug. 31, 1910....	17	12	5	706	588	118	83.3	6,580.00
Sept. 1, 1910-Aug. 31, 1911....	13	8	5	169	139	30	82.3	9,901.00

History of Strikes, 1881-1911.

Table 6. Strikes and Lockouts in the Tailoring Trade, 1881-1911.

(a) Source and Accuracy. The figures for the first period, covering the six years from 1881 to 1886, inclusive, are taken from the Third Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, published in 1887. They represent a summary of the tables already given in the text of Chapter 3, in connection with the history of early American unions. These figures can not be regarded as exhaustive; they appear to include only the most important strikes of the period.¹⁴⁸

Following 1886 there is a period of eight and one-half months, to the middle of August, 1887, for which we have no record. Beginning with October, 1887, the files of *The Tailor* are available, and they give a record beginning with the Convention which concluded on August 15. From this point down to June 30, 1903, the figures are taken from the biennial reports of the General Secretary of the Tailors' National Union. For the two months from July 1 to August 31, 1903, the strike benefit has been compiled from the monthly expense accounts in *The Tailor*, but the other items are not supplied. Beginning with September 1, 1903, the reports found in the Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have been followed. These reports were furnished by the General Secretary of the Tailors' Union to the Secretary of the Federation, and are slightly more complete than those published by the tailors in their own Journal.

¹⁴⁸For the year from August, 1884, to August, 1885, it is possible to check in part the completeness of the report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, by comparing his report with the one given in the Proceedings of the 1885 Convention of the Tailors' National Union. These Proceedings speak of eleven strikes during the year, while the U. S. Report only names six. Tailors' strikes are especially hard for the U. S. investigators to list, as they are often small affairs, and involve members working at home.

There are a few gaps in the table, which will be explained in connection with the special notes on each period. In connection with all figures furnished by the Secretary of the Tailors, it should be noted that they are not to be accepted as mathematically exact, but are based upon the best data that the Secretary was able to obtain from the expense accounts of the National Union and from the correspondence with local unions regarding the strikes. It is believed that the figures are fairly reliable for purposes of comparison.

(b) Definitions and Notation. A disturbance originating in several stores in a given city at about the same date is counted as a single strike. The writer has followed the practice of the officers of the Tailors' Union in this matter. Where necessary the reports of the United States Commissioner of Labor have been modified to agree with this method of recording strikes.

Each strike has been counted in the period during which it terminated. This is necessary in order to tabulate the results. Strike records are based largely upon benefit paid, and strikes lasting only a few days, so that no benefit was due under the union laws, are not, as a rule, counted at all.

Strikes by which the journeymen secured all or a part of their demands, or by which reductions or other aggressions upon the part of the employers were successfully resisted, are listed as "won or compromised." Strikes where the men went back to work without securing any of their demands, or where they were obliged to accept reductions, are listed as "lost." Members involved in won or compromised strikes are held to have been "benefited." Members involved in lost strikes are held to have been "not benefited." The term "benefited" in this connection refers to the direct result of the strike in question; no attempt is made to estimate the absolute results of strikes, or to balance gains in wages and

conditions against losses of time and expenses of union maintenance.

(c) Special Notes.

January 1, 1881-December 31, 1886. Of the 35 strikes listed by the United States Commissioner during this period, 25 took place after the organization of the National Union in 1883.¹⁴⁹ Neither the report of the Commissioner nor the Tailors' Journal contains a complete account of strike benefit paid for this period, and this item is therefore omitted from the table.¹⁵⁰ Strikes during this period were comparatively successful, 75.8 per cent of the members involved being benefited.

August 15, 1887-July 31, 1889. During this period unions formerly not affiliated were joining the National, and in addition a number of new locals were formed. In most cases, upon becoming members of the national organization, the local unions presented new bills of prices to their employers, and after short strikes many of these bills were signed. The number of members involved is not given by the Secretary, but he states that during the period about one-third of the membership secured advances in wages averaging at least ten per cent.¹⁵¹

August 1, 1889-July 31, 1891. Here again the exact number of members involved in strikes is not given, but it is stated that of the 219 strikes reported, 52 were against reductions, the other 167 being mainly for increase in wages. Reductions were successfully resisted in all except 18 cases. Of the strikes for causes other than reductions, 151 were

¹⁴⁹See table, Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁰From August, 1884, to August, 1885, the strike benefit paid amounted to \$3,286.45. (Proceedings of the 1885 Convention.)

¹⁵¹Tailor, Sept., 1889, p. 1. Report of the General Secretary to the 1889 Convention.

successful, and only 16 were lost.¹⁵² The large number of strikes during this period is explained by the rapid affiliation of new locals, which endeavored as a rule to improve their conditions at once.

August 1, 1891-June 30, 1893. Of 150 strikes during this period, 135 were successful. The remaining 15, however, that were lost, included serious strikes in Denver, Colorado; Winnipeg, Canada; Erie, Pennsylvania; Steubenville, Ohio; and Bloomington, Illinois. The outcome of these strikes called forth the following remark in the Secretary's report:

"In every one of the above cases and many others the Unions assured the General Executive Board that the demands made by the union could and surely would be secured by a very short contest, but the outcome proved that they had not the least conception of the resistance they would have to meet. This is the very worst kind of generalship, and no union should make such blunders."¹⁵³ During this period, and in fact throughout the history of the Union, the greater part of the strikes were for the purpose of increasing wages or resisting reductions. The number of members involved, benefited, etc., is not stated in the Secretary's report.

July 1, 1893-June 30, 1897. This period was largely one of business depression, and trade disturbances seem to have been so numerous that no definite record was kept by the Secretary, except of the strike benefit payments. In his report to the 1897 Convention appears the following statement: "During the four years strikes and lockouts have been constant, and many of them were the largest that have ever engaged our craft on this continent. While many were lost, others compromised, yet we find that the majority of all such

¹⁵²Tailor, Aug., 1891, p. 2.

¹⁵³Tailor, Aug., 1893, p. 2.

conflicts were won by our unions."¹⁵⁴ By all odds the most important of the strikes during this period was that in New York City. In June, 1894, while business was still suffering from the recent panic, fourteen of the leading merchants of New York notified their men individually that after June 23, all work must be done at a ten per cent reduction. The bosses, moreover, refused to carry on any negotiations with the union, or to recognize union committees.¹⁵⁵ A bonded agreement was entered into by the employers, with a \$1000 forfeit and a \$50 penalty in case of violation. This agreement bound the parties concerned to make a reduction in wages amounting to not less than ten nor more than fifteen per cent, and set forth in justification for this action that the reduction was to be "temporary and provisional only," until the industrial crisis should be passed.¹⁵⁶ The journeymen determined to resist the reduction, and the support of the National Union was secured. In view of the low condition of the general fund (\$3,924.87 on July 1, 1894), the National Union did not promise full strike benefit, but undertook to raise money by every means in its power, and to give as much assistance as possible.¹⁵⁷ With the aid of loans from local union treasuries, and the additional aid of a special levy, which was ordered by a vote of the general membership in accord with the constitution, the National Union was enabled to pay to New York during this strike the sum of

¹⁵⁴Tailor, Aug., 1897, p. 2. For two years from Oct. 1, 1895, to Sept. 30, 1897, statistics of tailors' strikes are given in the American Federation of Labor report. These indicate that during the period named there were 55 strikes, of which 43 were won or compromised, and 12 were lost. 2,782 members were involved, but the number benefited and not benefited is not stated. These figures are not inserted in Table 6, for the reason that they do not follow the fiscal periods of the Tailors' Union, which have been used as the basis for the early part of that table.

¹⁵⁵Tailor, July, 1894, p. 4.

¹⁵⁶Tailor, Sept., 1894, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵⁷Tailor, Aug., 1894, p. 9.

\$10,817.05.¹⁵⁸ In spite of this liberal support the strike was lost, and it was called off September 29, 1894.¹⁵⁹ As indicated in the special notes to Table 1, the result of this strike was the almost complete loss of the New York Union.

July 1, 1897-June 30, 1899. For this period little special comment is required. Business conditions were much better than during the preceding period, and strikes were generally short and successful. The strike expense was small, and the percentage of members benefited (96.3 per cent), was higher than for any other similar period for which this item is recorded.

July 1, 1899-June 30, 1901. The table gives the essential facts for this period. No reductions were accepted by the unions, the six strikes lost being for increase of wages or for the free shops. The strike benefit bill for the period was rather high, (\$28,463.25). The greater part of this was expended on a few contests.¹⁶⁰

July 1, 1901-June 30, 1903. It is difficult to express in statistical form the situation during this term. As reported by the Secretary, there was no strike during this period which was lost completely.¹⁶¹ At the same time it would not be correct to say that all the members involved were benefited, for the reason that in some cities the union lost control of certain establishments, but obtained a victory in others. It has therefore been decided in posting the table to report all strikes as "won or compromised," but to make no attempt to give an exact division of the number involved into those benefited and those not benefited. It seems certain that the unions came very near to winning all of their strikes during this period. The strike benefit paid was greater than for any

¹⁵⁸Tailor, Nov., 1894, p. 8.

¹⁵⁹Tailor, Oct., 1894, p. 8.

¹⁶⁰Tailor, Aug., 1901, p. 3.

¹⁶¹Tailor, Aug., 1903, p. 3.

previous term of equal length. About half of the entire sum was paid to three local unions: Buffalo, New York; Dallas, Texas; and Washington, D. C.

July 1, 1903-Aug. 31, 1903. Only the strike benefit is listed for these two months. The division is inserted to bridge the gap between the report of the Tailors' Secretary to the Committee in 1903, and his report to the American Federation of Labor for the term beginning Sept. 1, 1903.

Sept. 1, 1903-Aug. 31, 1904. During this year the strike benefit paid amounted to \$44,315.00, or more in a single year than in any two years previous. This great expense was due in the main to strikes in five cities: Kansas City, Denver, Binghamton, N. Y., Milwaukee, and Cleveland. The situation in these cities was somewhat similar to that in New York in 1894, as the merchants were organized and were determined to break the power of the unions. This effort, which was backed in a large measure by a national union of merchants, known as the Merchant Tailors' Protective Association, was contemporaneous with the formation of "union-smashing" employers' associations in a number of industries. The strikes in the five cities mentioned above were disastrous to both merchants and men. In some cases the unions suffered a technical defeat, being obliged to call the strike off without securing any formal recognition or concession from the bosses. The unions were not, however, destroyed, and after a few months were about as strong as ever, while the bosses never recovered completely the trade they had lost during the trouble. While these large strikes were pending the Executive Board of the Tailors' National Union employed their authority to prevent strikes elsewhere, in order that the defense might be concentrated in the cities where the Employers' Associations were strongest. By this policy it was found possible to finance the strike without incurring any deficit in the general fund, and there is no doubt that the firm resist-

ance of the unions discouraged the employing tailors of the country from similar tactics in other localities.

Sept. 1, 1904-Aug. 31, 1907. (Three periods.) During these three years it is seen that the percentage of success rises very materially, and that the cost of strikes is considerably lower than in 1903-1904. The struggles of the previous year seem to have had a salutary effect, and to have disposed both sides toward a more conciliatory attitude.

Sept. 1, 1907-Aug. 31, 1909. (Two periods.) During this time the very large sum of \$91,574.35 was paid for strike benefit. Of this more than two-thirds was paid to five cities: Los Angeles, California; Ithaca, New York; Kingston, Ontario, Canada; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Oakland, California. The most serious contest was that in Los Angeles, which was a part of the general movement in that city against trade unionism. The employing tailors "locked out" all of their workmen, 112 in number, and gave notice that union men would not be employed. The local union in Los Angeles made an exceptionally vigorous defense, which was aided by the National Union, by other local unions, and by the American Federation of Labor. As a result the employers' combination was broken, and at the end of the strike the Los Angeles union had more members and more union shops than at the beginning.

It will be noticed in the table that for the year 1907-1908 the last three columns are not posted. This is for the reason that the figures required do not appear in the American Federation of Labor report for 1908, probably for the reason that the Los Angeles strike was still pending on August 31, 1908, and the results could not be given.

Sept. 1, 1909-Aug. 31, 1911. (Two periods.) During the last two years covered by the table, it is seen that the expense of strikes was comparatively low, and that a large percentage of the members involved were benefited. This is

an illustration of the same fact shown five years before, that a successful resistance by the journeymen in severe contests is worth while from the union standpoint, and reduces materially the future trouble that they have to meet.

III. Wages and Conditions of Union Tailors, January 1, 1912.

Plan of investigation. In December, 1911, a circular was sent out to the corresponding secretaries of all local unions affiliated with the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.¹⁶² It was requested that returns be made by February 1, 1912. A number of unions responded later than this, and the tables were held open until April 15, at which time the form was made up, and all returns later than that date are excluded. Of 308 unions affiliated at date of circular, 73 responded in time to be listed. List of local unions and copy of questionnaire are herewith submitted.

LOCAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS UNION OF AMERICA, DECEMBER 15, 1911.

Alabama.	107—Sacramento.	132—Toronto, Ont.
75—Birmingham.	108—San Jose.	138—Lethbridge, Alta.
145—Montgomery.	159—Palo Alto.	141—St. Thomas, Ont.
242—Mobile.	266—Oakland.	142—Victoria, B. C.
260—Dothan.	277—San Diego.	143—Ottawa, Ont.
Arkansas.	339—Bakersfield.	149—Hamilton, Ont.
36—Little Rock.	366—Fresno.	156—West Toronto, Ont.
73—Fort Smith.	414—Eureka.	175—Revelstoke, B. C.
140—Hot Springs.	Canada.	178—Vancouver, B. C.
416—Helena.	23—Peterboro, Ont.	183—Amherst, N. S.
California.	30—London, Ont.	191—Fort William, Ont.
2—San Francisco.	33—Woodstock, Ont.	194—Calgary, Alta.
81—Los Angeles.	58—Haileybury, Ont.	226—Sudbury, Ont.
82—Los Angeles.	70—Winnipeg, Man.	233—Edmonton, Alta.
84—Stockton.	114—Windsor, Ont.	235—St. Catharines, Ont.
	117—Brantford, Ont.	241—Sarnia, Ont.
		252—Rossland, B. C.
		262—Brockville, Ont.

¹⁶²Through the courtesy of Mr. E. J. Brais, National Secretary of the Tailors' Union, it was made possible to have this circular sent out from the National Headquarters, with the endorsement of the general office, and at their expense.

263—Kingston, Ont.
264—Berlin, Ont.
275—Regina, Sask.
297—Guelph, Ont.
317—Montreal, Que.
355—Cornwall, Ont.
409—Halifax, N. S.
410—St. John's, N. F.

Colorado.

3—Denver.
21—Leadville.
102—Pueblo.
150—Colorado Springs.
280—Victor and Cripple
Creek.

Connecticut.

7—Danbury.
22—New Haven.
28—Bridgeport.
95—Stamford.
139—Hartford.
171—New Haven.
364—South Norwalk.

District of Columbia.

188—Washington.

Florida.

279—Pensacola.
319—Jacksonville.

Georgia.

51—Atlanta.
128—Macon.
174—Savannah.
206—Columbus.
216—Augusta.
269—Bainbridge.

Idaho.

170—Boise.
261—Wallace.

Illinois.

5—Chicago.
8—Champaign.
19—Peoria.
24—Bloomington.
34—Rock Island.

60—Decatur.
65—De Kalb.
115—Joliet.
129—Alton.
135—Springfield.
152—Danville.
161—Rockford.
169—Galesburg.
180—Quincy.
190—Streator.
212—Jacksonville.
222—Ottawa.
223—Elgin.
281—Canton.
294—Belleville.
298—Murphysboro.
337—Kankakee.

360—Pekin.
368—Mattoon.
370—Moline.
375—Chicago Heights.
376—Freeport.
426—Pontiac.
428—Dwight.

Indiana.

16—South Bend.
31—Terre Haute.
32—Peru.
100—Anderson.
118—Ft. Wayne.
146—Elwood.
154—Marion.
157—Indianapolis.
165—Richmond.
220—Logansport.
234—Muncie.
254—Vincennes.
296—Elkhart.
331—Wabash.
362—Kokomo.

Iowa.

15—Des Moines.
42—Waterloo.
63—Ottumwa.
72—Dubuque.
109—Fort Dodge.
147—Oskaloosa.
158—Fort Madison.
160—Cedar Rapids.
177—Keokuk.
207—Burlington.

230—Clinton.
231—Council Bluffs.
232—Sioux City.
300—Davenport.
346—Centerville.

Kansas.

9—Leavenworth.
20—Wichita.
120—Topeka.
122—Parsons.
127—Atchison.
286—Salina.
287—Arkansas City.
378—Independence.

Kentucky.

49—Louisville.
124—Owensboro.

Louisiana.

187—New Orleans.

Maryland.

4—Baltimore.

Massachusetts.

12—Boston.
26—Springfield.
103—Lowell.
105—Brockton.
168—Northampton.
245—Holyoke.
295—Pittsfield.
353—North Adams.
403—Andover.

Michigan.

29—Grand Rapids.
83—Saginaw.
121—Kalamazoo.
202—Battle Creek.
210—Ann Arbor.
229—Detroit.
240—Port Huron.

Minnesota.

88—St. Paul.
89—Minneapolis.
97—Duluth.
303—Grand Rapids.

306—Virginia.
315—Hibbing.

Missouri.

6—Sedalia.
11—St. Louis.
61—St. Joseph.
64—Kansas City.
76—Springfield.
113—Kansas City.
250—Poplar Bluff.
283—Hannibal.
290—Joplin.
382—Moberly.

Montana.

25—Butte City.
43—Great Falls.
151—Anaconda.
265—Helena.

Nebraska.

92—Omaha.
273—Lincoln.

New Jersey.

77—New Brunswick.
199—Paterson.

New York.

14—Troy.
18—Poughkeepsie.
45—Syracuse.
46—Buffalo.
52—Binghampton.
69—Schenectady.
87—Rome.
91—Elmira.
93—Ithaca.
172—Niagara Falls.
176—Salamanca.
198—Albany.
259—Rochester.
326—Gloversville.
390—New York City.
396—Cortland.

North Carolina.

123—Wilmington.
148—Rocky Mount.
267—Winston-Salem.
422—Charlotte.
423—Asheville.

North Dakota.

237—Fargo.

Ohio.

27—Columbus.
41—Akron.
48—Niles.
50—Bucyrus.
53—Youngstown.
94—Delaware.
98—Zanesville.
110—Findlay.
144—Canton.
155—Cincinnati.
162—Cleveland.
163—Lima.
166—Toledo.
181—Steubenville.
203—Springfield.
205—Massillon.
248—Fremont.
249—Mansfield.
251—Newark.
253—Coshocton.
272—East Liverpool.
284—Cambridge.
373—Norwalk.

Oklahoma.

227—Muskogee
271—Tulsa.
314—Oklahoma City.

Oregon.

74—Portland.

Pennsylvania.

10—Warren.
56—Philadelphia.
57—Franklin.
67—Erie.
101—Meadville.
119—Oil City.
125—Ridgway.
130—New Castle.
131—Pittsburg.
196—Williamsport.
258—Wilkesbarre.
288—Bradford.
308—Dubois.
309—Hanover.
322—Washington.
348—Lancaster.

381—Allentown.
419—Sharon.

Rhode Island.

13—Providence.

South Carolina.

17—Charleston.
201—Columbia.
305—Greenville.

South Dakota.

221—Sioux Falls.
393—Aberdeen.

Tennessee.

38—Knoxville.
79—Memphis.
85—Nashville.
276—Chattanooga.

Texas.

78—Dallas.
96—Waco.
99—Fort Worth.
126—Palestine.
153—Paris.
214—San Antonio.
247—Houston.
321—Beaumont.

Utah.

59—Salt Lake City.
111—Ogden.

Virginia.

40—Norfolk.
44—Richmond.
47—Lynchburg.
54—Danville.
197—Roanoke.
292—Charlottesville.

Washington.

68—Tacoma.
71—Seattle.
104—Raymond.
106—Spokane.
112—Olympia.
211—Bellingham
238—North Yakima.

335—Everett.	Wisconsin.	213—Kenosha.
399—Hoquiam.	35—Oshkosh.	215—Madison.
West Virginia.	55—Portage.	225—Fond du lac.
	66—LaCrosse.	282—Green Bay.
133—Huntington.	86—Milwaukee.	328—Manitowoc.
137—Charleston.	164—Superior.	361—Wausau.
246—Wheeling.	179—Eau Claire.	384—Watertown.
285—Fairmont.	192—Ashland.	427—Racine.
379—Clarksburg.	209—Neenah.	

CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION.

(To be returned to Headquarters on or before Feb'y 1, 1912).

1. What was the date of organization of the earliest Tailors' Union in your city of which you have any knowledge?
2. When was your present union organized?
3. Number of members in good standing January 1, 1912?
4. How many members working in free shops?
5. How many legitimate merchant tailoring establishments in your city?
6. How many of these establishments are union shops?
7. What is the average price to customers of suits made by firms employing your members? Highest? Lowest?
8. How many non-union tailors now employed in your city, who would be eligible to join the J.T.U. of A?
9. Are average wages of union tailors in your city higher than those of non-union tailors? What is the per cent of difference?
10. How many of your members on the "sectional" or team system?
11. What is the full amount of dues paid by your members, both local and national?
12. How many apprentices are learning the trade with your members?
13. What is the rule of your union regarding helpers?
14. Does your union limit the hours of labor?
15. How many of your members work by the week?
16. What is the average wage per week of weekly workers, when working full time?
(1) Of journeymen.....
(2) Of helpers.....
17. Does your local union use the label?
18. What do you estimate to be the per cent of increase in your price bills since your local union was organized?
(If your local was in existence before 1883, give increase since 1883.)
19. Please fill out the following schedule of prices, showing wage conditions in 1890 and in 1911. Put in the prices paid for finished

garment in each case, including start, try-on, and all extras. If your union was not in existence in 1890, please give in the first column the prices paid in the year your union was organized.

	Price Paid, 1890.	Price Paid, 1911.
S. B. Sack Overcoat
D. B. Sack Overcoat
D. B. Frock Overcoat
D. B. Prince Albert Coat
D. B. Sack Coat
S. B. Sack Coat
Trousers
Vests
Weekly Wage, 1890.....		
Weekly Wage, 1911.....		

20. Please answer the following questions, after consulting with members who have kept wage accounts in 1911 or previous years:

- (1) What are the average yearly earnings of coatmakers in your city?
- (2) Of vestmakers?
- (3) Of trousers-makers?
- (4) Of bushelmen?
- (5) Of weekly workers?
- (6) Of helpers?

Returns of Local Union No.....of.....

The undersigned officers hereby certify that the above replies are correct.

L. U. Seal.

..... President.

..... Cor. Secretary.

Probable accuracy of returns. The following questions were of such a nature that the secretaries could answer them from personal knowledge, or with the aid of the union records. The returns on these questions may therefore be accepted as accurate:

2. When was your present union organized?
3. Number of members in good standing January 1, 1912?
4. How many members working in free shops?
6. How many of these (merchant tailoring) establishments are union shops?

7. What is the average price to customers of suits made by firms employing your members?.....Highest?.....Lowest?.....

10. How many of your members work on the sectional or team system?

11. What is the full amount of dues paid by your members, both local and national?

12. How many apprentices are learning the trade with your members?

13. What is the rule of your union regarding helpers?

14. Does your union limit the hours of labor?

15. How many of your members work by the week?

16. What is the average wage per week of weekly workers, when working full time? 1. Of bushelmen? 2. Of helpers?

17. Does your local union use the label?

Concerning the remaining questions some special comment is necessary:

1. What was the date of organization of the earliest tailors' union in your city of which you have any knowledge?

Most of the secretaries have answered this question, and there is no doubt that there was a union in the city on the date named. It is probable, however, that in some cases this union was not the earliest, although it may have been the earliest under the present National Union. To avoid confusion we have copied the returns just as given, and have not attempted to supply dates from other sources.

5. How many legitimate merchant tailoring establishments in your city?¹⁶³

This will be reported quite accurately from the smaller cities; in the larger cities the figures must be regarded as

¹⁶³For definition of "legitimate merchant tailoring," see special notes to Table 7.

approximate only, in view of the fact that there are a great many small shops, and without an exact census perfect accuracy would be impossible.

8. How many non-union tailors now employed in your city, who would be eligible to join the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America?

As in question 5, returns will be accurate from small cities, but only approximate from larger ones.

9. Are average wages of union tailors in your city higher than those of non-union tailors? What is the per cent of difference?

It is the general impression of the secretaries that union wages are higher than non-union, but the per cent of difference, if reported at all, must be regarded as approximate, in view of the fact that in many cases no direct comparison has been made.

18. What do you estimate to be the per cent of increase in your price bills since your local union was organized?

There is so great a probability of inaccuracy in connection with the returns from this question, due mainly to the complexity of the piece-scales, that it has been concluded not to use the figures at all except in a few cases.¹⁶⁴

19. Schedule of wages, 1890 and 1911.

With regard to the second date, 1911, the returns may be regarded as accurate, being copied in practically all cases from actual scales of prices. The same will be true in most cases of the first date, but in some cases the secretary may have depended upon the memory of old members, in which case the returns would not be so reliable. It is believed, however, that as a rule the unions that could not get accurate figures did not report at all, and that the returns received are reasonably good.

¹⁶⁴See special notes, Table 9.

20. Average yearly earnings of coatmakers, vestmakers, etc.

It is probable that these have not been based upon actual accounts kept except in a few cases, and that upon the whole they are simply estimates. The accuracy will vary considerably as between different unions. It is the belief of tailors whom we have consulted that in general the estimates are too low. There is an unusual difficulty about calculating yearly wages in the tailoring trade, in view of the fact that the hours are exceedingly irregular, ranging from 18 to 20 hours a day down to zero in the dull seasons. The figures are submitted as given by the Secretaries, and an opportunity may arise at some future time to check them with greater accuracy.

Guide to the tables.

The returns from Questions 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, and 17 are found in Table 7.

The returns from Questions 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15 are found in Table 8.

The returns from Questions 3, 7, 9, 16, 18, 19, and 20 are found in Table 9.

Classification by geographical sections. In listing returns the classification employed by the United States Census Bureau in its bulletins of population is adopted, as follows:

<i>Section.</i>	<i>States.</i>
New England	Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.
Middle Atlantic	New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.
East North Central	Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.
West North Central	Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.

South Atlantic	Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.
East South Central	Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi.
West South Central	Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas.
Mountain	Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada.
Pacific	Washington, Oregon, California.

Returns from Canada have been listed after the Pacific division.

At date of circular the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America had local branches in all states except Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Delaware, Mississippi, New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada.

SUMMARY OF RETURNS, BY SECTIONS.

Section	Unions Reporting.	Aggregate Membership.
New England	5	186
Middle Atlantic	10	1,450
East North Central	25	1,898
West North Central	10	573
South Atlantic	5	153
East South Central	1	21
West South Central	5	102
Mountain	2	69
Pacific	7	866
Canada	3	155
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals	73	5,473

It is seen from the above table that at least one union reported from every section, and that in all 73 unions reported, with an aggregate membership of 5,473.

LIST OF CITIES OF MORE THAN 100,000 INHABITANTS, FROM WHICH RETURNS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR POPULATION, TOGETHER WITH THE UNION MEMBERSHIP IN EACH CITY.

City.	Union Membership
New York	1,000
Chicago	1,000
Boston	61
Cleveland	150
Baltimore	16
Pittsburgh	100
Buffalo	165
San Francisco	300
Milwaukee	153
Kansas City	230
Seattle	265
Indianapolis	82
St. Paul	110
Portland	185
Atlanta	100
Winnipeg	100
Lowell	30
<hr/>	
Total membership in 17 cities	4,047

The above list is inserted for reference purposes, and also as indicating that of the 5,473 members reported from 73 cities, 4,047 are in the 17 cities named above, or 72.9 per cent.

TABLE 7.
GENERAL STATISTICS.
STATISTICS OF ORGANIZATION.
JANUARY 1, 1912.

GENERAL STATISTICS										STATISTICS OF ORGANIZATION					
Local Union No.	LOCALITY	State	Popu- lation 1910	Date of Earliest Union	Date of Present Union	Membership	Full Monthly Dues	Use the Label?	Merchant Tailoring Establishments			Custom Tailors			
									Union Shops	Not Union Shops	Total	Union	Non- Union	Total	Per Cent Union
<i>New England States</i>															
12	Boston	Mass.	670,585	1806	1883	61	.85	No	2	18	20	61	400	461	13.2
103	Lowell	Mass.	106,294	1900	1900	30	.85	Yes	4	11	15	30	12	42	71.4
245	Holyoke	Mass.	57,730	.....	1906	65	.85	Yes	10	2	12	65	10	75	86.6
353	No. Adams	Mass.	22,019	1902	1906	16	.85	No	3	4	7	16	10	26	61.5
7	Danbury	Conn.	20,234	1885	1885	14	.85	Yes	8	4	12	14	14	14	100.0
<i>Middle Atlantic States</i>															
390	New York	N. Y.	4,766,883	1866	1883	1000	.90	Yes*	29	...	...	1000	15,000*	16,000	6.25
46	Buffalo	N. Y.	423,715	1887	1897	165	.85	Yes	29	71	100	165	200	365	45.2
14	Troy	N. Y.	76,813	1829	1883	67	.85	Yes	6	...	...	67	...	...	...
172	Niagara Falls	N. Y.	30,445	1902	1911	18	.85	Yes	3	5	8	18	16	34	53.0
18	Poughkeepsie	N. Y.	27,936	.....	.....	9	.85	Yes	7	7	7	9	10	19	47.4
131	Pittsburg	Pa.	533,905	1880	1890	100	.90	Yes	10	390	400	100	1000	1,100	9.0
67	Erie	Pa.	66,525	1888	1898	46	.85	Yes	9	5	14	46	20	66	69.7
130	New Castle	Pa.	36,286	1890	1890	20	.85	Yes	4	5	9	20	9	29	69.0
288	Bradford	Pa.	14,544	1899	1899	16	.85	Yes	2	3	5	16	16	100.0	0
308	Dubois	Pa.	12,623	1901	1901	9	.85	Yes	3	1	4	9	2	11	81.8
<i>East North Central States</i>															
162	Cleveland	Ohio	560,663	.....	1900	150	1.00	Yes	20	180	200	150	300	450	33.3
110	Findlay	Ohio	14,858	1891	1905	4	.85	No	1	4	5	4	6	10	40.0

NOTES.—*Helpers and females; .70; others .85. *Label Shops. *About 2,000 per Year. *Lowest Estimate.

NOTES.—*Helpers and females, 70; others .85. *Label Shops. *About 2,000 per Year. *Lowest Estimate.

East North Central States.—Cont.

157 Indianapolis	Ind.	233,650	1890	1895	82	.85	Yes	6	12	18	82	50	132	62.1
118 Ft. Wayne	Ind.	63,933	1893	1900	50	.85	Yes	7	2	9	50	8	58	86.2
220 Logansport	Ind.	19,050	1890	1899	20	.95	Yes	5	1	5	20	19	39	51.3
32 Peru	Ind.	10,910	1902	1902	11	.85	Yes	4	1	5	8	3	11	72.7
5 Chicago	Ill.	2,185,283	1860	1889	1000	1.00	Yes	90	...	...	1000	...	...	...
19 Peoria	Ill.	66,990	1883	1883	73	.85	Yes	8	2	10	73	...	...	...
115 Joliet	Ill.	34,670	...	1903	33	.90	Yes	10	2	12	33	3	36	91.7
152 Danville	Ill.	27,871	1892	1900	24	.85	Yes	4	2	4	24	4	24	100.0
24 Bloomington	Ill.	25,768	1873	1884	38	.85	Yes	7	1	8	38	4	42	90.5
34 Rock Island	Ill.	24,335	1884	1899	13	.85	Yes	2	2	4	13	...	13	100.0
294 Belleville	Ill.	21,122	1900	1900	21	.90	Yes	4	1	4	21	5	25	80.0
212 Jacksonville	Ill.	15,326	1886	1902	20	.85	Yes	4	1	5	20	6	17	100.0
337 Kankakee	Ill.	13,986	1889	1902	17	.85	Yes	3	3	3	17	6	21	71.4
8 Champaign	Ill.	12,421	1881	1883	15	.85	Yes	3	3	3	15	8	8	100.0
360 Pekin	Ill.	9,897	1902	1902	8	.85	Yes	3	3	3	8	1	22	95.5
222 Ottawa	Ill.	9,535	1896	1896	21	.85	Yes	3	1	9	21	10	35	71.4
210 Ann Arbor	Mich.	14,817	1896	1906	25	.85	No	8	1	27	40	450	603	25.3
86 Milwaukee	Wis.	373,857	1883	1898	153	.85	Yes	13	2	6	153	2	20	92.3
164 Superior	Wis.	40,384	1890	1890	24	...	Yes	4	2	6	24	3	40	100.0
282 Green Bay	Wis.	25,236	1902	1902	40	.85	Yes	10	8	8	40	3	23	87.0
213 Kenosha	Wis.	21,371	1906	1906	20	.85	Yes	8	1	8	20	1	19	94.7
328 Manitowoc	Wis.	13,027	1901	1901	18	.85	Yes	7	5	5	18	...	...	...
384 Watertown	Wis.	8,820	1903	1903	18	.85	Yes	5	5	5	18	...	...	...
<i>West North Central States</i>														
88 St. Paul	Minn.	214,744	...	1881	110	.85	Yes	6	44	50	110	...	...	...
232 Sioux City	Ia.	47,828	1887	1896	52	.85	Yes	7	4	11	52	3	55	94.6
300 Davenport	Ia.	43,028	1883	1900	33	.85	Yes	4	4	8	33	9	42	78.5
72 Dubuque	Ia.	38,494	1859	1881	20	.85	Yes	9	1	10	20	2	29	100.0
42 Waterloo	Ia.	26,693	1894	1894	28	.85	Yes	7	7	7	28	2	30	93.3
207 Burlington	Ia.	24,324	1876	1886	34	.90	Yes	5	5	5	34	...	34	100.0

NOTE.—*Exclusively Merchant Tailors."

GENERAL STATISTICS										STATISTICS OF ORGANIZATION				
Local Union No.	Locality	State	Popu- lation 1910	Date of Earliest Union	Date of Present Union	Membership	Full Monthly Dues	Use the Label?	Merchant Tailoring Establishments			Custom Tailors		
									Union Shops	Not Union Shops	Total	Union	Non- Union	Total
	<i>West North Central States.—Cont.</i>													
109	Ft. Dodge	Ia.	15,543	1888	1903	21	.85	Yes	2		2	21		21
158	Ft. Madison	Ia.	8,900	1903	1903	3	.85	Yes	2	3	5	3	5	8
64	Kansas City	Mo.	248,381	1875	1886	230	.95	Yes	24	9	33	230	75	305
237	Fargo	N. D.	14,331	1896	1896	33	.85	Yes	4		4	33	6	39
	<i>South Atlantic States</i>													
4	Baltimore	Md.	558,485	1866	1883	16	.85	No	10		10	16	200	216
17	Charleston	S. C.	58,833	1904	1904	14	.85	No	7		7	14	40	54
51	Atlanta	Ga.	154,839	1873	1888	100	1.00	Yes	6	4	10	100	75	175
319	Jacksonville	Fla.	57,699	....	1905	15	.85	Yes	1	9	10	15	15	30
279	Pensacola	Fla.	22,982	1908	1908	8	.90	Yes	2		2	8		8
	<i>East South Central States</i>													
124	Owensboro	Ky.	16,011	1890	1890	21	.85	Yes	4		4	21	2	23
	<i>West South Central States</i>													
73	Ft. Smith	Ark.	23,975	1888	1909	6	.85	Yes	1	1	2	6	4	10
140	Hot Springs	Ark.	14,434	....	1892	12	.85	No	4		4	12	9	21
416	Helena	Ark.	8,772	1904	1910	11	.85	Yes	2		2	11	11	11
214	San Antonio	Texas	96,614	1890	1899	37	1.00	Yes	5	3	8	37	50	87
99	Ft. Worth	Texas	73,312	1889	1897	36	.90	Yes	3	3	6	36	12	48

NOTE.—*Colored tailors not eligible in this Local.

Mountain States		Mont.	Utah	30,165	1883	1883	48	1.00	Yes	4	4	48	12	60	80.0
25	Butte	.....	.....	25,580	1889	1889	21	.90	Yes	3	1	4	3	24	87.5
Pacific States															
71	Seattle	.....	.....	237,194	.....	1888	265	.95	Yes	22	3	25	265	.....	.....
399	Hoquiam	.....	.....	8,171	1904	1904	20	1.00	Yes	6	6	24	2	22	90.9
112	Olympia	.....	.....	6,996	1891	1907	11	.85	Yes	5	5	11	.....	11	100.0
74	Portland	.....	.....	207,214	1885	1901	185	.95	Yes	18	12	30	185	335	55.2
2	San Francisco	.....	.....	416,912	1875	1902	300	.95	Yes	.....	.....	300	250	550	54.5
108	San Jose	.....	.....	28,046	1889	1902	36	1.00	Yes	5	3	8	36	41	80.2
84	Stockton	.....	.....	23,253	1890	1901	49	.90	Yes	10	10	49	1	50	98.0
Canada															
70	Winnipeg	.....	.....	135,440	1882	1892	100	.90	Yes	6	19	25	100	275	36.9
194	Calgary	.....	.....	43,736	1905	1905	20	.85	Yes	6	6	20	8	28	71.4
235	St. Catharines	.....	.....	12,460	1878	1896	35	.85	Yes	6	1	7	35	39	89.7

NOTES.—'Independent Union, not No. 2. .95 for men, .75 for women.

Table 7. General Statistics. Statistics of Organization.

(a) *Notation.* Dotted lines (. . .) indicate that no answer was returned by the Secretary upon the particular point involved. A blank in any square indicates "zero" or "none."

(b) *Special notes.*

1. *Local union number.* This is the serial number of the local union in the filing system at the general headquarters, and has nothing to do with the locality of the union or its date.

2. *Population 1910.* This is taken from the latest bulletins of the United States Census, with the exception of the three Canadian cities, the population of which is taken from the Commercial Handbook of Canada (Heaton's Annual). In the table the cities are arranged in each state in the order of their population.

3. "*Date of earliest union*" and "*Date of present union*" refer to the date of organization of the local union.

4. *Full monthly dues.* This is the sum of the local and national dues paid by each member in the city named.

5. "*Use the label?*" According to the law of the National Tailors' Union, the union label is the property of the Union, and may be affixed to garments under the following conditions: (1) The garment must be made by a member of the union. (2) All tailors working for the employer for whom the garment is made must be members of the union. (3) The bill of prices paid must be in accord with an agreement with the union. The label is protected under the copyright laws of most of the states, and journeymen or employers who affix it contrary to the above conditions can be prosecuted under statute law.

6. The term, "*merchant tailoring establishment,*" as used in this table, is equivalent to the term "legitimate merchant

tailoring establishment," as used in Question 5 of the questionnaire, and the returns from that question are given in this part of the table. The term applies to establishments in which custom work of a high grade is made in the home city by skilled journeymen. It excludes houses making work on a factory system and selling at a distance through agencies.

7. *Union shops.* The term "union shop" applies to the business establishment, and must not be confused with the term "workshop." An establishment is called a "union shop" if all the journeymen employed are members of the union, and are working under a scale approved by the union. Thus an establishment might be a union shop, and at the same time there might be no workshop furnished by the employer, the work being made in private shops or at home.

In some cases the secretary has reported all establishments as union shops, and at the same time has reported a few non-union tailors in the city. In such cases it is probable that the non-union tailors are working in ready-made clothing stores or repair shops, or in factory shops, which are not reported as "legitimate merchant tailoring establishments."

8. *Not union shops.* The term "not union" has been employed instead of "non-union," for the reason that the latter is sometimes held to imply that all employes of the establishment are non-unionists, whereas in some of the establishments which are not "union" there are both unionists and non-unionists working.

9. *Custom tailors.* The "total" given in the third column under this head is found by adding to the membership of the union the number of non-union tailors in the city who would be eligible to join, as reported by the secretary. Eligibility of tailors to membership in the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America is determined by the following rules in the constitution: (1910.)

"Section 2. The jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America shall be the United States and Canada, covering all tailors, helpers, apprentices and bushelmen engaged in the production of custom made clothing. (Custom made clothing to be interpreted as all clothing made for men or women to the order and measure of each individual customer). Bushelmen working on alterations in ready-made stores shall be eligible to membership.

"Section 175. Resolved, that the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America claim jurisdiction over all workers engaged in the manufacture of legitimate custom tailoring, no matter what system of work is used."

10. *General note.* All statistics in this and the following tables, with the exception of the data respecting early wages, in Table 9, are given as of the first of January, 1912.

(c) *Analysis and conclusions.*

1. *Dates of organization.* The significant fact shown under this head is that a large number of the unions have been reorganized since their first appearance. Some unions, in fact, have been reorganized several times.

2. *Membership.* The membership does not bear as close relation to the population of the towns and cities in which the unions are located as might be expected. Local conditions cause wide discrepancies. For example, in Buffalo, with about 400,000 inhabitants, there are 165 union tailors, whereas in Baltimore, with more than 500,000, there are only 16. The relation of membership to the total number of tailors in each city is taken up under the head of "custom tailors."

3. *Full monthly dues.* As explained in connection with Table 2, the present law of the union requires that national dues shall be 65 cents a month, and local dues shall be not less than 20 cents a month. Of 72 unions reporting, 50 en-

force the minimum of 20 cents local dues, or 85 cents in all; 10 unions charge 90 cents; 5 charge 95 cents; and 7 charge \$1. All of the unions reported from the Pacific section, with one exception, charge more than the minimum dues.

4. *Label.* Of 73 unions reporting, 66 use the label. Where a local union does not use the label, either they have no union stores, and have therefore no right to use it, or else there is some objection to its use by employers or men.

5. *Merchant Tailoring Establishments.* Of 1,332 establishments reported from 69 cities (New York, Troy, Chicago, and San Francisco not reporting), 421, or 31.6 per cent of the total, are "union shops."

6. *Custom Tailors.* The following table shows the degree of organization by sections and on the whole:

<i>Section</i>	<i>Cities reporting.</i>	<i>Total custom tailors.</i>	<i>Total custom tailors in unions.</i>	<i>Per cent in unions.</i>
New England	5	618	186	30.0
Middle Atlantic	9	17,640	1,383	7.8
East North Central	22	1,675	807	48.2
West North Central	9	563	463	82.2
South Atlantic	5	493	153	31.0
East South Central	1	23	21	91.3
West South Central	5	177	102	57.7
Mountain	2	84	69	78.0
Pacific	6	1,009	601	60.5
Canada	3	342	155	48.3
Total	67	22,624	3,940	17.4

The above figures are misleading unless especial account is taken of the New York situation. If New York is left out, there are 66 cities reporting, with a total of 6,624 custom tailors, of whom 2,940 are in the union, or 44.4 per cent. This is a much fairer average for the whole country than the 17.4 per cent shown when New York is included.

The most striking fact shown by the table with respect to degree of organization in the different sections is the steady improvement of organization as we pass from the

eastern sections to the western. This is due in part to the newness of the western country and the greater economic opportunity, but in a far greater measure it is due to the situation with reference to cheap immigrant labor. In the New England and Atlantic states, where such labor is plentiful, union organization is very difficult, for three principal reasons: (1) Many of the immigrants have a low standard of living, and are not ambitious to improve their conditions. (2) The diversity of races makes it hard to secure united action. (3) The most intelligent and skilled tailors in these sections are often employers, as well as craftsmen, being in the contracting business, or having a number of helpers under them. Their interest in unionism is not, therefore, as great as that of less independent workers. The Middle West and far West show a great improvement over conditions in the New England and Atlantic sections; there are more German, Scandinavian and American tailors, who work together and make good unionists.

DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION.

Percent Organized.	N. E.	Mid. Atl.	E. N. Cent.	W. N. Cent.	S. Atl.	E. S. Cent.	W. S. Cent.	Mt.	Pac.	Can.	Total.	
0-9	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	} 4
10-19	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
20-29	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	} 5
30-39	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	
40-49	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	} 11
50-59	...	1	1	...	2	...	1	...	2	...	7	
60-69	1	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	5	} 18
70-79	1	...	3	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	8	
80-89	1	1	3	1	...	...	...	2	1	1	10	} 84
90-100	1	1	11	5	1	1	1	...	3	...	24	

Total cities reporting..... 67

It is now in order to consider further the variations in the degree of organization. (See table, "Degree of Organization.") It is found that there is a distinct mode for cities more than 90 per cent organized, 24 cities falling within this group, out of 67 cities reporting. If we consider cities more than 80 per cent organized, we find that there are 34, or more than half. The number of cities lying within each group determined by the percentages of organization increases steadily as the characteristic percentage of the group increases. This leads to the conclusion that the tailors, upon the whole, are fairly well organized in the cities reported. It is noticed that practically all of the cities in the East North Central section and in the sections west of the Mississippi are more than 50 per cent organized.

Large and small cities.

To compare degrees of organization in large and small cities the following tables are compiled:

DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION, TEN LARGE CITIES.			
<i>City</i>	<i>Total custom tailors.</i>	<i>Union members.</i>	<i>Per cent union.</i>
New York	16,000	1,000	6.25
Boston	461	61	13.2
Cleveland	450	150	33.3
Baltimore	216	16	7.4
Pittsburgh	1,100	100	9.0
Buffalo	365	165	45.2
San Francisco	550	300	54.5
Milwaukee	603	153	25.3
Kansas City	305	230	75.4
Indianapolis	132	82	62.1
Portland	335	185	55.2
Total	20,517	2,442	11.9

DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION, TEN SMALL CITIES.

<i>City</i>	<i>Total custom tailors.</i>	<i>Union members.</i>	<i>Per cent union.</i>
Danbury, Conn.	14	14	100.
Dubois, Pa.	11	9	81.8
No. Adams, Mass.	26	16	61.5
Logansport, Ind.	39	20	51.3
Belleville, Ill.	21	21	100.
Burlington, Iowa	34	34	100.
Ft. Smith, Ark.	10	6	60.
Owensboro, Ky.	23	21	91.3
Stockton, Calif.	50	49	98.
St. Catherine's, Ont.	39	35	89.7
Total	267	225	84.3

Note. The population of each of the above cities lies between 10,000 and 25,000.

It is seen that in the ten large cities named there are 20,517 custom tailors, of whom 2,442 are in the unions, or 11.9 per cent; whereas in the ten small cities, containing 267 tailors, 225 are in the unions, or 84.3 per cent. This great difference is due to the cheap labor in large cities, already discussed, and to the difficulty which the large city, by reason of its very size, offers to thorough organizing work.

TABLE 8.
NATURE OF SHOPS.
SYSTEMS OF PRODUCTION AND WAGE PAYMENT
JAN. 1, 1912

NATURE OF SHOPS, SYSTEMS OF PRODUCTION AND WAGE PAYMENT

Local Union No.	LOCALITY	State	Population 1910	Shops			System			Wage Payment			Apprentices	Limit Hours?	Helper Rate
				Union Members in Free Shops	Union Members in Rented Shops or at Home	Total	Union Members on Individual System	Union Members on Team System	Total	Weekly Scale Workers	Piece Workers	Total			
<i>New England States</i>															
12	Boston	Mass.	670,585	10	51	61	61		61	8	53	61		No	n. r.
103	Lowell	Mass.	106,204	30		30	30		30	14	16	30	7	No	n. r.
245	Holyoke	Mass.	57,730	60	5	65	65		65	20	45	65	5	No	n. r.
353	No. Adams	Mass.	22,019	16		16	16		16	2	14	16	2	Yes	n. r.
7	Danbury	Conn.	20,234	14		14	14		14	2	12	14		Yes	o
<i>Middle Atlantic States</i>															
390	New York	N. Y.	4,766,883	0	1000	1000	1000		1000	300 ¹	700	1000	20	No	n. r.
46	Buffalo	N. Y.	423,715	50	115	165	165		165	50	115	165	10	Yes	n. r.
14	Troy	N. Y.	76,813	0	67	67	67		67	3	64	67	3	No	n. r.
172	Niagara Falls	N. Y.	30,445	16	2	18	18		18	4	14	18		Yes	n. r.
18	Poughkeepsie	N. Y.	27,936	4	5	9	9		9	1	8	9		No	n. r.
131	Pittsburg	Pa.	533,905	0	100	100	100		100	20	80	100	25	No	n. r.
67	Erie	Pa.	66,525	12	34	46	43	3	46	6	40	46	4	No	n. r.
130	New Castle	Pa.	36,280	13	7	20	20		20	0	20	20		No	n. r.
288	Bradford	Pa.	14,544	13	3	16	16		16	3	13	16	1	No	n. r.
308	Dubois	Pa.	12,623	9		9	9		9	0	9	9		No	n. h.

NOTES.—¹For Weekly Workers Only. ²All Bushelman.

NATURE OF SHOPS, SYSTEMS OF PRODUCTION AND WAGE PAYMENT—Continued.

Local Union No.	Locality	State	Population 1910	Shops			System		Wage Payment			Apprentices	Limit Hours?	Helper Rule
				Union Members in Free Shops	Union Members in Rented Shops or at Home	Total	Union Members on Individual System	Union Members on Team System	Total	Weekly Scale Workers	Piece Workers				Total
West North Central States—Continued														
300	Davenport	Iowa	43,028	22	11	33	33		33	3	30	33	No	No
72	Dubuque	Iowa	38,404	20		20	20		20	1	28	20	Yes	Yes
42	Waterloo	Iowa	26,693	28		28	28		28	1	27	28	Yes	n. r.
207	Burlington	Iowa	24,324	...	...	34	34		34	5	29	34	No	No
109	Ft. Dodge	Iowa	15,543	21		21	21		21	4	17	21	No	n. h.
158	Ft. Madison	Iowa	8,000	3		3	3		3	0	3	3	No	n. r.
64	Kansas City	Mo.	248,381	19	211	230	230		230	18	212	230	5	Yes ¹⁻²
237	Fargo	N. D.	14,331	33		33	33		33	5	28	33	No	1 ¹
South Atlantic States														
4	Baltimore	Md.	558,485	0	16	16	16		16	6	10	16	No	n. r.
17	Charleston	S. C.	58,833	14		14	14		14	0	14	14	No	1
51	Atlanta	Ga.	154,839	80	20	100	100		100	9	91	100	7	Yes ¹
319	Jacksonville	Fla.	57,699	8	7	15	15		15	1	14	15	No	1
279	Pensacola	Fla.	22,982	8		8	8		8		8	8	No	1
East So. Central States														
124	Owensboro	Ky.	16,011	10	11	21	21		21	1	20	21	No	n. r.

NOTES.—¹Natl. Const. Followed. ²For Bushelmen and Weekly Workers Only. ³Coatmakers—1; Trousers and Vest-Makers, 2. ⁴No Female Helpers Allowed. ⁵Weekly Workers Only 9 Hours a Day.

<i>West So. Central States</i>													
73	Ft. Smith	23,975	6	6	6	6	6	6	3	3	6	No	n. r.
140	Hot Springs	14,434	12	12	12	12	12	12	0	12	12	No	n. r.
416	Helena	8,772	11	11	11	11	11	11	1	10	11	No	n. r.
214	San Antonio	96,614	37	37	37	37	37	37	...	...	37	1	No n. r.
99	Ft. Worth	73,312	27	9	36	36	36	36	3	33	36	Yes	0
<i>Mountain States</i>													
25	Butte	39,165	48		48	48	48	48	10	38	48	1	0
111	Ogden	25,580	21		21	21	21	21	2	19	21	Yes	n. r.
<i>Pacific States</i>													
71	Seattle	237,194	240	25	265	230	35	265	130	135	265	Yes	...
399	Hoquiam	8,171	20		20	20		20	2	18	20	No	0 ^a
112	Olympia	6,996	11		11	11		11	0	11	11	No	n. r.
74	Portland	207,214	160	25	185	185		185	25	160	185	2	Yes ^a 1
2	San Francisco	416,912	150	150	300	100	200	300	125	175	300	25	Yes ^a n. r.
108	San Jose	28,946	27	9	36	36		36	13	23	36	No	1
84	Stockton	23,253	49	...	49	49		49	...	...	49	No	n. r.
<i>Canada</i>													
70	Winnipeg	135,440	90	10	100	100		100	20	80	100	No	n. r.
104	Calgary	43,736	20	...	20	20		20	6	14	20	No	n. h.
235	St. Catharines	12,460	4	31	35	35		35	2	33	35	1	No ...

NOTES.—19 h. ^aBut Help May be Employed by Special Consent of Union. ^sWeekly Workers—9 Hours. ⁴Men 9 Hours—Women 8 Hours by State Law. ^bBushelmen Only. ^{e1}to Each Shop.

Table 8. Nature of shops. Systems of production and wage payment.

(a) *Notation.* As in Table 7, dotted lines (. . . .) indicate "no answer," and a blank "zero" or "none."

Under the last column, "helper rule," the following abbreviations are used:

n.h.—no helpers employed.

n.r.—no rule.

o—no helpers allowed.

1, 2, etc.—One helper allowed, two helpers allowed, etc.

(b) *Special notes.*

1. The returns on which this table is based show directly the following facts: (1) Total membership of union. (2) Union members in free shops. (3) Union members on team system. (4) Weekly scale workers. (5) Apprentices. (6) Limit hours? (7) Helper rule.

The following facts are not shown directly by the returns: (1) Union members in rented shops or at home. (2) Union members on individual system. (3) Piece workers. The figures given in the table for these last three subjects are derived by subtracting the figures respectively for free shops, team system, and weekly workers, from the total membership. The figures so obtained are subject to a slight correction, in view of the fact that in reporting "total membership" the secretaries have included members not working at the trade, e.g., invalid and retired members. The correction is however, not an important one, as there are only a few such members.

2. Methods of production have been discussed in Chapter 2.

3. *Limitation of hours.* The question sent out about this subject was intended to refer to piece-workers. Practically all the unions limit the hours of time-workers, e.g., bushelmen. It is believed that as a rule the secretaries have

answered the question with reference to piece-workers, as intended. In some cases they have indicated specifically the meaning of the answer, and it is placed in the foot-notes.

(c) *Analysis and conclusions.*

1. *Shops.* In the 71 cities reporting on this question, (Peoria and Burlington not reporting), there are 5,366 union members, and of these 2,308, or 43 per cent, are working in free shops. In the 17 large cities named in a former table, containing 4,047 members, only 1,253, or 30.9 per cent, are in the free shops. This shows that the free shops are less frequent in the large cities; in fact, in New York, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore, it is stated that there are *no* members in free shops. There are, however, some large cities where the rule does not hold good, and where a large part of the members are in free shops; such cities are Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, St. Paul, Atlanta, and Winnipeg.

2. *Systems of production.* It is found by summarizing the tables that of 5,308 union members in 72 cities (Buffalo not reporting), only 268 are working on the team system, the balance, in so far as they are working at the trade, being employed on the individual system. Of the 268, 235 are employed in San Francisco and Seattle alone. It has only been recently that the Tailors' Union has consented to organize workers on the newer systems, and there has not been time for many of such workers to be organized; moreover, the system itself is of recent growth. It seems to have obtained a greater foot-hold in the West than elsewhere.

3. *Wage payment.* Of 5,084 union members in 69 cities, (Cleveland, Milwaukee, San Antonio, and Stockton not reporting), 1,114 are reported as working on a weekly scale. Of these 255 are in San Francisco and Seattle. As already explained, (Chapter 2), "team" workers are usually paid by the week, which accounts for the large proportion in these

two cities. Outside of team workers, the majority of weekly workers are bushelmen.

4. *Apprentices.* In 72 cities, (Cleveland not reporting), containing 5,323 members, there are 180 apprentices, or about one to every thirty members. This exceedingly small proportion confirms the conclusion drawn from studies in other industries, that the apprenticeship system is rapidly declining.

5. *Limitation of hours.* Of 73 cities reporting, only ten limit the hours of piece-workers. The pressure during the rush seasons is such that this kind of limitation is almost impossible, as long as the members work by the piece, and are responsible in a measure for their own output.

6. *Helper rule.* This question has been answered for 67 cities, (Joliet, Pekin, Kenosha, Boston, Seattle, and Dubuque not reporting). Six unions report that there are no helpers employed by their members. Twenty-five unions have no rule on the subject. Ten unions have a rule that no helpers shall be employed. Twenty-three unions permit one helper only. This is the traditional rule of the Tailors' Union, and at one time was embodied in their national constitution. At the present time the local unions are permitted to use their own discretion as to rules on the subject of helpers. Two unions permit as many as two helpers, and one, St. Catherine's, Canada, reports a rule of "one helper to each shop."

TABLE 9. WAGES AND PRICES.

U. No.	LOCALITY	Population, 1910	Union Membership	Year of First Climate	Year of Second Climate	Period (years)	Percent Increase in Piece Rates (Est.)	WAGES—PIECE RATES												TIME RATES					Estimate'd Average Yearly Earnings, 1911 (Employment Estimated at 250 days)					Percent Excess Union or Non-U. Wages			Retail Prices of Suits																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														
								S. B. Sack Overcoat		D. B. Sack Overcoat		D. B. Frock Overcoat		D. B. Prince Albert Coat		D. B. Sack Coat		S. B. Sack Coat		Trousers		Vests		Journey- men's Weekly Wage		Coat Makers		Vest Makers		Trousers Makers		Bushel- men		Weekly Workers		Helpers		Lowest	Highest	Average																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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Table 9. Wages and Prices.

(a) *Methods of wage payment.* The wages of union tailors are governed by contracts with their employers, which are known as "bills of prices," or "price bills." These contracts include scales for piece-workers, scales for time-workers, if any are employed,¹⁶⁵ and any other matters respecting conditions of employment which have been agreed upon by the parties concerned. Some price-bills are signed by a single employer, but as a rule a union bill is signed by several employers. On behalf of the union it is signed by the officers of the local. The price-bills are often elaborate, containing all the usual items of dress, and many "extras."

Helpers are paid by the journeymen. The usual rule is that the helper shall receive one-third of the full wage for making the suit; i.e., one-half as much as the journeymen receives. In some cities there are helpers of more than the average skill, who work under a journeyman, but still earn from \$13.00 to \$15.00 a week. Such helpers should not be confused with those who work for \$8.00 or \$10.00 a week. For example, Joliet, Illinois, reports helpers working at \$13.50 a week.

(b) *Special notes.*

1. *Abbreviations.* Under the heading of "Wages-Piece Rates" the abbreviation S.B. stands for "single-breasted," and D.B. for "double-breasted."

2. *Notation.* In this table, where the secretary made no returns for any item, or where the meaning of the returns was not plain, a blank has been used.

3. *All returns* are listed as received from the secretaries,

¹⁶⁵In most shops the bushelman is the only weekly worker, but there are cases where coatmakers, vestmakers, etc., are employed by the week, and some cases where a shop employs both piece and weekly workers, in addition to the bushelman.

and no attempt has been made to go beyond the returns or to revise the estimates given.

4. *Per cent of increase in piece-rates (est.)*. Where the secretary reported the prices for only one date, but gave an estimate of the per cent of increase between the two dates named, this estimated per cent is inserted, in order to give some idea of what the prices on the other dates were. In all other cases, the probable inaccuracy of the percentages reported is such that they have not been inserted, and the figures are left to speak for themselves, except where there has been *no* increase, in which case a zero has been inserted.

5. *Piece-rates, first and second dates*. It is probable that in some cases the secretary has given under the first date the wages as they were on the first price-bill negotiated by the union, such wages being higher than wages paid prior to organization. The table will not show in such cases the complete advance secured by the organization, but only the difference between the earliest and latest union bills. Thus, for example, the secretary in Watertown, Wisconsin, reports in a note to his returns that coatmakers' wages have gone up 60 per cent over the old non-union bill, whereas the table shows only 16 to 20 per cent change in the piece-rates for coats, after the first union bill went in.

6. *Time rates. Journeymen's weekly wage*. The figures in this column apply to weekly scale workers only. The figures given are for full-time wages.

7. *Estimated average yearly earnings, 1911*. "Employment estimated at 250 days." This estimate of employment does not apply rigorously to each class of trade. It is the best estimate that the writer was able to obtain of actual average yearly employment, counting out all time lost, and estimating a standard full-time day at ten hours. The note was inserted to indicate that the estimates given are of actual

earnings, and not of full-time earnings. Bushelmen lose a great deal less time than the other tradesmen.

In some cases the secretaries have returned estimates of average weekly earnings. In such cases the writer has used these figures as a basis for the estimates given in the table.

8. *Per cent excess of union over non-union wages.* Where the secretary does not give a definite answer, the space is left blank. If the secretary reports "no excess," a zero is posted in the proper square.

(c) *Analysis and conclusions.*

AVERAGE PIECE-WAGE, SINGLE-BREASTED SACK COATS,
1911, BY SECTIONS.

<i>Section.</i>	<i>Cities. Reporting.</i>	<i>Average¹⁶⁶ Piece-Wage S. B. Sack Coats, 1911.</i>
New England	5	\$ 7.89
Middle Atlantic	9	8.33
East North Central	25	7.84
West North Central	9	8.42
South Atlantic	5	9.53
East South Central	1	8.50
West South Central	5	8.86
Mountain	2	10.25
Pacific	7	9.33
Canada	3	7.78
Totals	71	\$ 8.39

Notes. The average piece-wage for single-breasted sack coats in 1911 is found to be, in the 71 cities reporting, \$8.39. It is seen that in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central sections, and in Canada, the piece-wage is below the average. The West North Central, East South Central, and West South Central sections show a little above the average. The South Atlantic, Mountain, and Pacific sections show decidedly above the average. It is the general impression that wages in most industries are higher in the

¹⁶⁶The averages given here are *by cities*, and are not weighted according to the number of individual tailors working under a given scale.

West, and it is not surprising to find this true in the tailoring trade. It might, however, be expected that the South Atlantic cities would show a lower bill. The essential reason why they do not is that in these cities, including for example, Baltimore, Charleston, and Jacksonville, there are comparatively few tailors in the unions, and these are of the first class as to skill, being employed on fashionable trade, where the employer prefers the best help, in spite of the fact that he could obtain cheaper help. It is very doubtful if this section would compare as favorably as it does with the West if the wages of non-union tailors were included. In fact, Atlanta reports that union wages are 20 per cent higher than non-union, and Jacksonville, 25 per cent higher.

In interpreting the entire table of wages it must be taken into account that there is a very wide diversity with reference to the quality of the trade made in the various cities, and frequently this consideration has a more direct bearing on the piece-scales than any sectional distinction. A fair index of the quality of trade may be found in the retail prices of suits, which are given in the last column of the table.

AVERAGE PIECE-WAGE, TROUSERS, 1911, BY SECTIONS.

<i>Section</i>	<i>Cities reporting.</i>	<i>Av. piece-wage, trousers, 1911.</i>
New England	5	\$2.22
Middle Atlantic	9	2.33
East North Central	24	2.47
West North Central	8	2.86
South Atlantic	5	3.06
East South Central	1	2.50
West South Central	5	2.85
Mountain	2	3.75
Pacific	7	3.19
Canada	3	2.38
Total	69	2.65

Notes. The average piece-wage for trousers in 69 cities is found to be \$2.65. The variations by sections are found

to be almost exactly the same as described for coats. This results from the fact that when a bill of prices is changed by negotiation between the union and the employers, all items are changed in proportion.

AVERAGE PIECE-WAGE, VESTS, 1911, BY SECTIONS.

<i>Section.</i>	<i>Cities reporting.</i>	<i>Av. piece-wage, vests, 1911.</i>
New England	5	\$2.03
Middle Atlantic	9	2.07
East North Central	24	2.04
West North Central	9	2.40
South Atlantic	5	2.20
East South Central	1	1.75
West South Central	5	2.60
Mountain	2	3.37
Pacific	7	2.67
Canada	3	2.05
Total	70	2.24

Notes. The average piece-wage for vests in 70 cities is found to be \$2.24. Variations by sections are similar to those for coats and trousers, except that Owensboro, the only city reporting in the East South Central section, has an exceptionally low vest bill, (\$1.75); and the South Atlantic section falls below the average, probably for the reason that a larger part of the work on vests is done by helpers than in the case of the other items. Helpers are numerous in the East, and do not, of course, receive as good wages as the master-workmen.

PIECE-WAGES FOR S.B. SACK COATS.

<i>Section.</i>	<i>\$5.00-6.99</i>	<i>\$7.00-8.49</i>	<i>\$8.50-9.99</i>	<i>\$10.00 and over.</i>
New England	1	3	.	1
Middle Atlantic	1	4	2	2
E. N. Central	4	13	5	3
W. N. Central	1	4	3	1
South Atlantic	.	.	4	1
E. S. Central	.	.	1	.
W. S. Central	.	1	4	.
Mountain	.	.	1	1
Pacific	1	.	4	2
Canada	.	3	.	.
Totals	8	28	24	11

Notes. The figures in the vertical columns stand for cities. The table for the Middle Atlantic section, for example, is to be read as follows: "In the Middle Atlantic section, 1 city reports a piece-wage for sack coats between \$5.00 and \$6.99; 4 cities report a piece-wage between \$7.00 and \$8.49;" etc. It is found that the medium prices, from \$7.00 to \$9.99, inclusive, obtain in 52 cities, being about equally distributed between the high and low medium prices. This table also shows the fact indicated by former tables, that the South Atlantic and the western sections show distinctively high wages.

PIECE-WAGES, SINGLE-BREASTED SACK COATS, TEN LARGE CITIES.

<i>City.</i>	<i>Piece-wage, S. B. Sack Coats, 1911.</i>
New York	\$ 9.00
Boston	11.00
Cleveland	10.00
Baltimore	9.00
Pittsburgh	10.00
Buffalo	11.50
Kansas City	12.40
Indianapolis	9.00
Portland	10.75
Winnipeg	7.50
Average	<hr/> \$10.01

PIECE-WAGES, SINGLE-BREASTED SACK COATS, TEN SMALL CITIES.

<i>City.</i>	<i>Piece-wage, S. B. Sack Coats, 1911.</i>
Danbury, Conn.	\$6.00
Bradford, Pa.	7.75
North Adams, Mass.	8.45
Logansport, Ind.	7.00
Belleville, Ill.	6.00
Burlington, Iowa	8.50
Fort Smith, Ark.	9.00
Owensboro, Ky.	8.50
Stockton, Cal.	9.00
St. Catherine's, Ont.	8.35
Average	<hr/> \$7.85

It is found that the average piece-wage for sack coats in ten large cities is \$10.01, and in ten small cities, \$7.85. This

great difference is due in the main to two causes: (1) Living is higher in the large city, and it is necessary to pay tailors more to hold them. (2) More fine tailoring is done in the large city, and the employers can afford to pay a good bill in order to get the best journeymen.

LIST OF 8 CITIES, 80 PER CENT OR MORE ORGANIZED, GIVING DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION, AND INCREASE IN PIECE-RATES FOR S.B. SACK COATS, IN 21 YEARS, 1890-1911.

<i>City</i>	<i>Per cent organized.</i>	<i>Piece-rate 1890</i>	<i>Piece-rate 1911</i>	<i>Per cent increase.</i>
Holyoke	87	\$5.00	\$7.00	40
Danbury	100	6.00	6.00	0
Bloomington	90	7.00	8.50	21
Superior	92	7.00	8.00	14
Sioux City	95	7.25	9.00	24
Olympia	100	8.00	9.25	15
Stockton	98	9.00	9.00	0
San Jose	89	8.00	9.75	22

LIST OF 8 CITIES, 50 PER CENT OR LESS ORGANIZED, GIVING DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION, AND INCREASE IN PIECE-RATES FOR S.B. SACK COATS, IN 21 YEARS, 1890-1911.

<i>City</i>	<i>Per cent organized.</i>	<i>Piece-rate 1890</i>	<i>Piece-rate 1911</i>	<i>Per cent increase.</i>
Boston	13	\$8.00	\$11.00	37
Pittsburgh	9	6.75	10.00	55
Cleveland	33	5.00	10.00	100
Baltimore	7	9.00	9.00	0
Winnipeg	36	6.50	7.50	15
Buffalo	45	5.00	11.50	130
Poughkeepsie	47	5.00	6.00	20
Jacksonville, Fla.	50	6.00	8.65	44

The two tables above have been compiled in the endeavor to trace a connection between the degree of organization and the per cent of increase in piece-rates for a typical garment, such as a sack coat. The results of this comparison are curious. The cities organized less than 50 per cent show the highest percentages of increase. This can only be explained on the ground that the cities the least organized are at the same time, with a few exceptions, the largest cities, and the

influence of the size of city and the quality of trade is greater than that of the degree of organization.

ESTIMATED AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS, 1911.

Under the head of yearly earnings little more is attempted than to list the returns as reported by the secretaries. The considerations by which the relation between yearly earnings and piece-rates is to be traced are complicated, and the writer is convinced that there is a considerable degree of error in the estimates given. No time or space is devoted, therefore, to an analysis of these figures, until such time as they can be checked with greater accuracy.

RETAIL PRICES OF SUITS.

The average as reported by the secretaries is usually given as less than the arithmetical mean of the highest and lowest. This upon the whole is accurate, and indicates that a greater number of the lower priced suits are sold.

CONCLUDING NOTE, WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF UNION TAILORS.

The statistics presented in the preceding pages are not complete, but they are fairly representative, both with reference to the size of cities and with reference to geographical sections. No attempt is made here to draw general conclusions, as the diversity of conditions in the tailoring industry makes this well-nigh impossible without more complete data. The leading impression that the writer has received from the study of the returns received is that local conditions operate to a far greater extent than generally supposed to determine the conditions of the workers, and that any attempt to apply general economic principles to an investigation of this kind will have to be made in the light of the numerous exceptions and variations that are to be discovered.

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